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East Asia

Southeast Asia

24 JUNE 1987

EAST ASIA

SOUTHEAST ASIA

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'TALK' ASSAILS REAGAN FOR ADHERENCE TO TRUMAN DOCTRINE

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 18 Mar 87 p 3

["Talk" Column by Keosouvan: "The Truman Doctrine in the Reagan Era"]

[Excerpts] The Truman doctrine is against Communism, and the Reagan administration has made extensive use of this doctrine in U.S. foreign policy. However, all the actions against socialist countries and revolutionary forces have been defeated every time. When the Truman doctrine was first adopted the United States was a strong nation in terms of weapons and there were few independent nations. Now, however, the United States cannot destroy the arms balance with the USSR, and there are increasing numbers of independent nations that follow the socialist path. The great strength and solidarity of the nations in the world against the imperialists is becoming stronger than ever, and has been able to destroy and defeat such dangerous act by the United States. Imperialism as led by the United States has become fragmented to the point that the United States can no longer control it. Previously the United States was the strongest of the capitalist nations and the greatest lender, but now it is not a trustworthy nation and has become the biggest debtor.

However, Washington will never stop using the Truman doctrine, especially in the Reagan era, where it is considered their foreign policy and a way to conduct a war of aggression wherever they want with no regard for any international laws. However, whenever they do this they are defeated more painfully than before. This is because the nations that had been exploited worldwide are gradually awakening against their policy of expanding war and anti-communism.

9884/12947

CSO: 4206/102

PASASON DELEGATION VISIT TO PRK DESCRIBED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 18 Mar 87 pp 1, 3

[Text] A PASASON delegation led by Comrade Son Khamvanvong, alternate member of the Party Central Committee and also editorial chief of PASASON, returned to Vientiane Capital on 17 March following their friendly visit to the PRK. They had been invited by the PRACHEACHON editorial staff of the PRK.

During its visit to the PRK from 3 to 12 March the PASASON delegation paid its respects to Mrs Mensam-an, a member of the party central committee Politburo, chief of the (party central organizing committee), and also the political ideology supervisor of the PRK Party Central Committee. The Lao delegation discussed and exchanged experiences in their specialized tasks with the PRACHEACHON delegation of the PRK led by Mrs (Som Kimsava), member of the Party Central Committee of the PRK and also chief of the Cambodian PRACHEACHON editorial staff, and also signed a joint memorandum for 1987 and subsequent years.

The PASASON delegation also visited and exchanged ideas with the Information Committee of (SPK) representing the PRK Radio and Television Broadcasting. The delegation also visited a number of architectural ruins, Ban (Bai Veng), the Cambodian-Lao Friendship Village in Kandal Province, and a number of factories in Phnom Penh Capital.

Greeting the delegation at the airport were Comrade Bouaban Noulasoun, assistant chief of the (State Information, Newspaper, Radio and Television Broadcasting Committee), Comrade Sangouanphon, PRK ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Laos, Comrade Nguyen Bai, advisor to the SRV Embassy in Laos, and a number of other cadres concerned.

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SAYABOURY-THAI BORDER DEMARCATION, SECURITY PROFILED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 25 Mar 87 p 2

[Article by S Vangphouthon: "A Driving Force for Local Defense"]

[Excerpts] Na Bo Noi is a canton in Bo Ten District, Sayaboury Province, where the major physical characteristic of the land is mountains. The Singe [River] flows parallel to the mountain range. The people have settled in 11 villages along the waterway. In terms of its general physical characteristics, this land is an important strategic area in Bo Ten District.

Before the liberation Phou Miang Mountain used to be a location for the Vang Pao Special Forces. The entire western length of the mountain range marks the border between Laos and Thailand with Phou San Pan Nam Mountain serving as the dividing line. The Heung River marks the border on the south. Over the 11 years following the complete liberation of the nation, Na Bo Noi Canton has become another site where the enemies often sneak in to incite against the peace of the people.

In order to solve this problem the administration committee of Bo Ten District has worked to improve the guerrilla militia and the base organization and to mobilize the people so that they clearly understand the schemes of the enemies and the power of the revolution. Over the past 10 years the guerrilla forces and the self-defense unit in this canton have been expanded and strengthened steadily, and they have been able to fulfill their duty in providing peace and happiness for the people within the locality. The guerrilla militia has gained the trust and friendship of the people so well that the enemies dare not show up there. This is because all of the people have joined with the military forces. The district administrative committee has not only been careful to improve the guerrilla force and the self-defense unit, but has also been careful to promote economic construction. Despite the difficulties due to the physical features of the land such as mountains and jungle, the district has put its forces to use building a communications route to this canton and further to each village. Last year the local administrative committee and the guerrilla militia along with the people of different social classes in Na Bo Noi Canton also successfully repaired over 10 km of a road. This included building two semi-permanent wooden bridges 15 meters long capable of carrying from 2 to 3 tons.

The guerrilla militia and the self-defense unit in the base have worked together with the district regional force to inspect their area of responsibility on a regular basis. They used to work very well side by side with the district troops in punishing the exile bandit units and to protect the lives and property of the people, resulting in a loving and close feeling and in great assistance in many ways on the part of the people, who have always considered their relationship with the local military force the same as the one between fish and water.

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'ILL-INTENTIONED' THAIS RESPONSIBLE FOR SABOTAGE OF RELATIONS

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 13 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by V Akkhalat: "We Should Beware of People Who Are Ill-Intentioned Regarding Our Happiness"]

[Text] The songs and dances of peace along with the sounds of music and the applause of the audience echoed throughout the Vientiane Theater through the four shows presented by a Thai troupe. They have provided the strength to mobilize the minds of the peoples of the two nations of Laos and Thailand in the struggle to improve their good relations. This event is a continuation and promotion of the initiatives in artistic, literary and cultural exchanges between the two mass organizations, the Lao and Thai Peace Organizations. The Lao gave the first performances in mid-December. Our Lao Artistic and Gymnastics troupe led by Mr Thiam Phommachan, assistant chief of the Lao Committee for World Peace, Solidarity and Friendship with Other Nations, visited and spread friendship in the Kingdom of Thailand. Over 10 days the Lao Artistic and Gymnastics Troupe gave performances in Bangkok, Chiangmai, Mahasarakham and Nongkhai Provinces. Wherever they performed, every program presented by our troupe impressed the Thai people and received their admiration. The sounds of applause and support and the bouquets that our Lao performers received not only gave them moral support but also created a feeling of closeness, and strengthened the love between the peoples of the two nations.

Mr. Suthep Vongkhamheng, a senior Thai performer who is visiting the LPDR with the Thai Performing Arts Troupe, talked to the masses in Vientiane Capital on the first night of the performance. He spoke of "our customs and blood having the same origin." However, it is regrettable that the strong wish of the Thai and Lao peoples for getting along and living together in peace as fraternal nations has continued to be dismantled by ill-intentioned people in Thailand. The words "the same origin" have been used by these people as a shield for carrying out undesirable things and to incite against normal relations between the peoples of the two nations of Laos and Thailand. The worst thing of all is the sending of troops to encroach upon the three Lao villages of Ban Mai, Ban Kang and Ban Savang in Paklai District, Sayaboury Province. They also sent spies into Laos to incite against the peace along the Thai-Lao border and along the Mekong River. At the end of last month the People's Court punished three henchmen of the CIA and three ill-mentioned Thais on the criminal charge that they had sneaked in to destroy the LPDR. The hostile movement has shown no decrease.

The true events mentioned above indicate the ill-intentioned Thai who have never given up the hope of dismantling the fraternal relations between the peoples of Laos and Thailand. Although they were punished as they deserved and were defeated painfully, there has as yet been no change in the destructive nature and the cruelty of those ill-intentioned people. They will continue to carry out their ever more clever schemes to destroy the fine relations between the Lao and Thai peoples. Thus, in order to improve Lao-Thai relations, the Lao and Thai peoples must continue to be highly alert in order to stop these destructive movements against the peoples of the two nations. This means working together to improve Lao-Thai relations steadily for the benefit of the peoples of the two nations to be in line with the Lao-Thai joint announcement of 1974.

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STATE-COOPERATIVE MARKETING SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 13 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Phou Vattaba: "Songkhon Trade Improves"]

[Excerpts] Since the period of struggling to succeed in the First 5-Year Plan of the government and to continue to the Second 5-Year Plan, the party committee and the administrative committee of Songkhon District have carefully guided the expansion of trade within their own district.

In 1986 the district trade was able to exceed the purchase plan by 33 percent. Hundreds of items were bought for sale and exchange, including assorted fabric, zinc, Lao skirts, pants and shirts, cotton, pots, buckets, notebooks, sugar, salt, soap, machines, dials, plows, all kinds of shoes, bicycles, sewing machines, and various items for daily use valued at over 114.7 million kip. In the first 2 months of 1987 Songkhon District trade has been able to purchase and exchange over 1,750 tons of rice out of the 2,700 tons given in the plan. They purchased over 5 tons of rice, over 15 tons of resin, almost 20 cattle and buffalo, and over 1,000 kg of pigs.

Comrade Khampaseut answered our reporters concerning the techniques for organizing and running trade in the district. He said that carrying on trade between the district and the localities, and especially between the district trade and each trade co-op is the implementation of an agreement using the data for the true economic source in each locality. The plan for purchasing animal, rice field and forest agricultural products is supervised directly by the district. The co-op borrowed money from the bank, including the shares put in by the co-op itself. The alteration of goods to localities depends on the need for goods in each locality.

What we most need to be responsible for and carry out correctly is to upgrade the specialized task cadres, particularly in policy implementation and in actual trade. Upgrading means cadres are assigned to give guidance directly in each place. By policy implementation we use a percentage of the profit we give for the co-op calculated by percent. For example, for merchandise 6 percent is subtracted from the value for the merchandise that was purchased for sale. In purchasing forest and rice field products, 9 percent of the total purchase is subtracted for the co-op. For animal purchases 10 percent is subtracted, and 5 percent of the rice is subtracted from the total purchase value for rice.

Since this organizing technique has been carried out, many trade co-ops have become self-sufficient in terms of capital and no longer borrow from the bank. Each year many stores are able to make profits from 100,000 to 200,000 kip, and have been able to bring more than 1 million kip worth of goods for sale each year.

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XIENG KHOUANG TRADE, ECONOMIC INCENTIVES, EXPORT GROWTH

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 11 Apr 87 p 2

[Excerpts] In 1986 the Xieng Khouang Province Trade Corporation worked to score achievements and to implement the Council of Ministers' resolution No 49/LPDR of 8 August 1986 on shifting the main economic units to business. Based on the actual work in that year, the corporation struggled and achieved each work aspect effectively. The total export of goods by the corporation increased by a factor of 2.78 as compared with the figure for 1985. Total export sales were 6.4 percent over the year plan, which was a 1.73 percent increase over the figure for 1985. The corporation was able to increase its obligation to the treasury by 2.85 percent as compared with the figure for 1985. The guidance committee of the party and government also encouraged this organization to summarize its learning experiences in groups. Besides doing organizing, encouraging and guidance, the corporation also carried out the economic lever policy by treating its cadres, government employees and producers with sincerity and determination, both directly and indirectly. For example, the company gives 3 kip to anyone who sells 1,000 kip worth of household items in cash, 2 kip for every 1,000 kip in retail sales, and 7 kip for anyone who sells 1,000 kip worth of items such as kerosene, salt and spare parts. The company has also set detailed prices for repairing small, medium and large autos. For any year in which a car needs no repairs, the cost that would have gone into the repairs is given to the driver as a bonus. For the case where a car breaks down and the person who drives the car repairs it by himself, he will receive the repair money, but he will have a specified number of days in which to repair the car.

In 1987 the company established the following detailed plan. Its purchase plan for export goods is over 532 million kip and for export sales is nearly 700 million kip. Also, it will be handing over 104 million kip to the treasury. In order to bring this plan to reality, the company has proposed that the central echelons send a complete contingent of technical cadres to help Xieng Khouang Province in shifting to business.

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CSO: 4206/102

WOOD INDUSTRY ALLOWED TO FUNCTION AS BUSINESS

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 18 Mar 87 p 1

[Text] On the afternoon of 16 March a ceremony was held in the Lao Plywood Factory club to sign a memorandum to hand over the right to business for the Lao Wood Industry Company. Mr Inkong Mahavong, member of the party Central Committee and minister of agriculture, irrigation and cooperatives signed the hand-over memo, and Mr Douangkham Nolasin, general director of the Lao Wood Industry Company, signed the acceptance.

The purpose of the signing was to implement the policy of eliminating the centralized power managerial mechanism, the old and backward administrative subsidy method, and to shift to socialist business accountability, which means the correct usage, management and guidance in the economy by properly focusing on the actual economic situation. The production costs and profit will also be calculated. As of now the Agricultural Ministry has handed over the right to business to two companies, the Agricultural Manufacturing Company and the Lao Wood Industry Company.

Also participating in the signing ceremony were Mr Khamchai Souphanouvong, alternate member of the party Central Committee and vice minister and assistant chief of the Office of the Party Central Committee and the Office of the Council of Ministers, Mr Kham-ouan Bouppha, vice minister of agriculture, Irrigation and Cooperative, and the board of directors and workers in the company.

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CSO: 4206/102

BRIEFS

OUTGOING BULGARIAN ENVOY RECEIVED--Vientiane, 28 May (KPL)--Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP CC, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao PDR, received here yesterday Todor Netsov ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Lao PDR, at the end of his 4-year term of office here. On this occasion, General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihan thanked Todor Netsov for his contribution to the strengthening of the solidarity and friendship between the parties, governments and peoples of the two countries. He also thanked the Bulgarian Government for its multifarious assistance to the Lao PDR in the past and at present. He wished the ambassador good journey home and success in his new mission. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0859 GMT 28 May 87 BK] /12232

MEDAL FOR BULGARIAN ENVOY--Vientiane, 29 May (KPL)--Foreign Minister Phoun Sipaseut conferred here yesterday the friendship medal on Todor Netsov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria [PRB] to the Lao PDR, who is completing his 4-year mission here. On behalf of the party, government and people of Laos, P. Sipaseut, who is also Politburo member of the LPRP CC and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, congratulated and thanked the ambassador for his contribution to the strengthening of the solidarity and friendship between the Lao PDR and the PRB. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0911 GMT 29 May 87 BK] /12232

NEW MALAYSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER--Vientiane, 30 May (KPL)--Phoun Sipaseut, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for foreign affairs, recently sent a message of congratulations to Datuk Abu Hassan Bin Haji Omar on the occasion of his appointment as foreign minister of Malaysia. The message reads: "I have a pleasure in conveying to your excellency my sincere congratulations on the occasion of your appointment as foreign minister. I firmly hope that the normal relations existing between our two countries will be continued to ameliorate and further develop. Please accept, excellency, my personal wishes for your good health and successes in your noble mission." [Quotation marks as received] [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0857 GMT 30 May 87 BK] /12232

KHAMMOUAN TROOPS' BANK DEPOSITS--The soldier cadres in Khammouan Province recently deposited 369,596 kip of their savings in the State Bank. The money came from the sweat and labor of the combatant cadres throughout the headquarters. Although the amount is small, it shows the true spirit of the country and the owners of society. [Text] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 25 Mar 87 p 1] 9884/12947

CSO: 4206/102

BISHOP FORTICH CONDEMNS 'AMERICAN HAND' BEHIND VIGILANTES

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 p 12

[Text]

THE outspoken Bishop of Bacolod, Msgr. Antonio Fortich, believes that vigilante groups and the like are part of the Low Intensity Conflict program of the US government. US President Ronald Reagan, he told *Veritas* last week, had already publicly announced that the Roman Catholic Church "is no longer an ally of his government," adding that the Americans were now encouraging the creation of vigilante groups and fundamentalist sects to maintain the status quo.

"I only recognize one official authoritative guardian of peace and order and that is the military," he says in oblique disapproval of vigilante groups particularly the Concerned Citizens Group to Fight Insurgency based in Bacolod.

Fortich expressed the view that citizens that band together and arm themselves for purposes of self-defense should be placed under military authority and made liable for any abuses they might commit. He doesn't see how citizens could protect themselves without using arms as they would inevitably become targets of the NPA whom they have declared war against.

But what the Bacolod prelate considers particularly condemnable is what he sees as the American hand behind the proliferation of anti-communist vigilante groups. The

goal of LIC, he says, is to "let the sectors fight among ourselves as Filipinos without the Americans, shedding blood. Imagine, these *kano!*" He adds that this type of activity is also being done in other countries. "Why should we be the experimental station of American interests?"

He believes that only the government can remedy the situation with "positive action."

One thing to do, he says, is update military training, equip soldiers with the proper equipment and know-how so they can effectively combat insurgency without having civilians banding themselves.

Recently, the military accused a group of 35 priests of his diocese of being communists, and he dismisses this as a ploy to discredit the Church by first discrediting his priests. "In our place, the Church is highly credible," Bishop Fortich maintains. "My gosh, if every move we do for the poor is branded as communistic, we cannot do anything now! If to work with the poor and defend their human rights is equated with Communism then what should we do in order that we will not be called communists?"

After her campaign rally in Bacolod last weekend, President Corazon Aquino mediated in a dialogue between the bishop and his priests, and the military. — JBC

VERITAS EDITOR SUPPORTS CLERICAL ACTIVISM

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 10

[Commentary in "The Human Factor" by Melinda Quintos-de Jesus, VERITAS editor:
"Clerical Contradictions"]

[Text] **T**HE Catholic Church in the Philippines seems to be caught in a contradiction. The apparent conflict reflects the peculiar dynamics of our society in a period of transition.

The attempt to disengage from the political role it played in the protest movement against the Marcos dictatorship and in the February revolution to support Cory must assure certain quarters in and out of the Church. But it must also be acknowledged that such disengagement cannot be accomplished by simple fiat. For one thing, in this day of spiritual activism, the place of many priests and nuns is where the world needs them.

Many Filipinos have come to see the crucial economic and political problems of this country in the context of social reform. Such reform has a moral dimension. It involves man's obligation to his fellowmen to be fulfilled as social justice, not charity. Even the process for democratisation calls for a just sharing of both power and wealth, all of which can be interpreted in moral terms.

But church leaders are sensitive about the politicization of the institution, especially the clergy. And yet, these same leaders know that the Church's pervasive and extensive influence can prod much needed change in government and the rest of society. Call that conversion.

I do not see why the question should result in so much wringing of clerical hands. History shows that members of the church have tended to play power games. But not all clerical involvement reflects a taste for a highly political role.

There are differences of opinion among the clergy themselves about their role as Filipino leaders and the limitations imposed by their spiritual calling.

But, as a lay person, I recognize that each individual, laity or clergy, must, through thoughtful discernment, resolve these issues according to one's conscience.

The church is made up of clergy and laity. Together they make up a social institution which, if it is to have any meaning, cannot be so removed and isolated from current temporal issues.

The activities of the Catholic community reflects this duality of the Church. In many areas of concern, the leadership of the laity outstrips that of the priests and nuns. And the priests and nuns must be able to discern how they are to support the efforts of their lay brothers and sisters. The election as a political exercise involves human choice based on moral

judgement. There is a Christian perspective which guides the political vote. But the interpretation of that perspective can vary.

In anticipation of the forthcoming elections, the clergy have begun to speak out. And perhaps, this is in fulfillment of their prophetic role. I, for one, am edified that there are enough pastors of the flock who see their role without compromise and speak bravely on the fundamental ills confronting our times.

Last Sunday, I heard a priest express concern that the elections serve as an instrument of much needed change and reform. It would depend on who the electorate sends to Congress. In his view, the Philippine electorate must deal with the paramount issue of the massive poverty which afflicts more than 70 per cent of our population. There was an audible gasp among some of his listeners who seemed to be hearing this for the first time. Or perhaps it had that kind of effect on them because it was being said so eloquently in the church and by a priest.

Thus, he continued, the candidates need only to be judged by their commitment to and the concern they have shown for the eradication of poverty and its accompanying ills of malnutrition and mental retardation. The electorate must be convinced about the urgency with which the candidate regards the plight of the poor. This supersedes the importance of ticket or party or the candidate's stand on any other issue on the national agenda.

It was a powerful message and I could only wish there more people there to hear it and to heed it. If more of us shared such a vision, we would not need to fret so much about the influence of the Church on the politics of this nation. Or the lack of it.

/9274

CSO: 4200/616

BACOLOD VIGILANTE LEADER ON ANTICOMMUNIST ACTIVITY

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 p 13

[Article by Joann B. Cruz: "An Interview With a Vigilante--'The Only Way to Get Rid of Communists Is to Kill Them'"]

[Text]

HE CALLS himself a "freedom-loving man," a man who believes in "free enterprise," whose family has for generations fought to defend the Republic, a man who believes in the maxim "the only way to get rid of Communists is to kill them."

Dissatisfied with the government's weak and ineffective stance toward the communist insurgency, Mr. P, an Ateneo graduate, working professional and sugar planter who spoke to *Veritas* on condition of anonymity, set up the Concerned Citizens Group to Fight Insurgency (CCGFI), a civilian vigilante group with its own military arm, *El Tigre*.

According to Mr. P, the group (which is based in Bacolod) is still in its initial stages of organization. But he is confident that "if all Negrenses are together in this, we are more than (MNLF chairman) Misuari's group. We feel we will be a force to reckon with."

CCGFI counts among its members, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals as well as sugar planters, and uses this as reason why their group will not reach the proportion of abuses committed by similar groups in other areas, as in Davao where the *Alsa Masa* reigns. Since its inception early this year, Mr. P claims insurgency abuses in Bacolod have been minimized.

According to Regional Commander Gen. Domingo Rios, there are about 2,000 regular members of the New People's Army in the area, with up to 25,000 sympathizers as their mass base. He insists that the military is "very much on top of the situation" and that the NPAs are "on

the run despite their claims that they have made successful raids."

Gen. Rios also claims that the citizens' group is "unarmed" and that it was "a constitutional right of the people to protect themselves".

Mr. P agrees. "We feel we have to group together to protect our rights. Our government is there to protect us but it is our inherent right to protect ourselves," he says. He also claims that if left to themselves, the military and the police cannot solve the problem.

He cites the creation of the Bacolod Citizens for Unity and Peace (BAC-UP) police outposts to augment police protection in the city. BAC-UP outposts are funded and supported by civilians, but manned by PC soldiers. The outposts are placed in strategic areas throughout the city, its vehicles and even telephones supplied by citizens.

But contrary to Gen. Rios's claim, Mr. P admits that "we have arms," adding that each sugar planter in the organization has his own "men" — usually their drivers and farmhands to whom they issue the weapons selectively. "It will be crazy to stay without arms," he adds. Gettings arms is the next step after organization, he says, adding that government assurances that vigilantes will remain unarmed is only for "public consumption". He says the arms are not really for use but only as deterrent. The weapons, he insists, are given to the men only during operations after which they are collected again by the sugar planter. Even the bullets, he maintains, are inventoried.

"We don't make any money from the nose of our gun but through our hard work and sweat," Mr. P says of the sugar planters in his group. So far, he adds, there has not been a single incident where "innocent civilians have been harassed" or accidents occurred due to drunken behavior.

"We're engaged in intelligence and defensive activities," Mr. P maintains. "All we're doing is to give the NPA a message to lie low and not touch civilians."

He does not believe that such groups as his own should be legalized and adopted by the government formally. "It's not the cure," he says. "What the government has to do is adopt a strong-fist policy against the insurgents — like Enrile. We're doing this because of the inaction of the government. The government is one half on the right and one half on the left, it's in the center lane and ends up pleasing no one."

The group wants to link up with the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade of Dr. John Whitehall, based in Long Beach, California. The NPAs are fanatics, Mr. P says. He points to one of the Crusade's pamphlets carrying a story on the so-called extremes committed by communists to further their cause — "Dare we do less for the cause of freedom?"

Mr. P claims that one of his men was murdered by the NPA. He doesn't know why but insists that "it's not important why. Everyone is entitled to due process." He says a year ago, NPA influence in the area was more pervasive than now due to promises of social equality and land reform. But, he says, "People are getting tired of being taxed by the NPA," adding that the communists have also tried collecting "taxes" from him.

He says the NPA has several legal fronts in Bacolod and claims that the priests, human rights advocates and people behind the National Federation of Sugar Workers

(NFSW) are all "fronts" for the communists, describing them as "people who do not have anything better to do than ride with a cause to catapult them into, say, Congress."

As to the government's counterinsurgency program, Mr. P believes "the government is more involved in politicking. Even (President) Aquino now, sad to say, she's more involved in getting votes and staying in power. Government is just trying to play politics."

He insists however that the group is not trying to "take the law into our hands but just trying to help Government." He also makes clear that he is not against land reform, which he says should be done immediately but gradually and that the government must do more than just apportion the land but should also supply seeds and fertilizer to the farmers.

Says he: "I don't approve of men dispensing justice — we only resort to that if our houses and our city are being threatened."

He says that members of the group prefer to remain anonymous for fear of becoming targets of NPA Sparrow units; he sees this fear as one obstacle in getting new recruits to the group. He says now members have to be screened very carefully to ensure that they have no ulterior motive for joining, such as revenge.

His organization, he believes, is more effective as a clandestine underground group. He admits, though, that "there comes a time in your life when you have to come out in the open and fight for your beliefs."

His goal is to unite all Negrense sugar planters into one group against the insurgents. "Sometimes I ask myself how come other rich people don't move when they have so much to lose," Mr. P says, adding that he was not as rich as some of his neighbors but that what he is fighting for will eventually benefit all Filipinos.

FORMER MUSLIM OFFICER DISCUSSES MORO PROBLEM

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 pp 18, 19

[Article by Sylvia Mendez Venture in the "Odds and Ends" Column: "The Moro Personality"]

[Text]

To know the Muslims is to know what threads of history and beliefs have colored their lives, what events and experiences have shaped their minds and moved their spirits. The Muslims are neither a race nor a nation, but their common experience of what it is to be a Muslim in the Philippines has provided the basis for an emergent Moro personality. Thus, the story of the central force in their lives – the coming of Islam – must necessarily be a part of any story about the Muslims.

– Helen N. Mendoza, "The Moro Tapestry" in *Zamboanga Hermosa*

NOW is the time for all good Christians to learn about the "Moro personality." A little more sympathy and understanding on our part might reduce the current tension and prevent the bloody war now reported to be in the offing.

"It is regrettable," writes Prof. Helen Mendoza, who grew up in Zamboanga, "that the old romantic word 'Moro' has acquired connotations of violence and lawlessness, for in truth the story of the Moros is like a tale out of *The Arabian Nights*. Like the people who inhabit the world of the Arabian tales, the Moros have known the power and cruelty of datus, foreign invaders and predators."

They are a brave and hardy people, and they like to boast of how much blood they shed to preserve the Faith against threats from imperialists of all stripes. One should never underestimate the Islamic consciousness of the Muslim Filipinos. It was Islam that strengthened

their resistance to foreign domination, and it is Islam that will see them through their present crisis.

One legend of how Islam came to Mindanao, as told by Dr. Mendoza, is as beautiful as Mindanao itself. The datus and inhabitants of Maguindanao believe that angels brought paradise to Mindanao from the West, probably Arabia. Later, however, the earth became unbalanced, and the angels moved paradise to another side. Still the earth continued to tip on the side of Mindanao. Unable to locate the center of the earth, the angels took paradise to Mecca but left part of it in Mindanao.

Seventeenth-century travelers to the Philippine South believe that this legendary paradise could well have been Zamboanga, described by one priest-historian as "the earthly paradise of these islands in which it would seem that heaven showed special marks of favor, exempting her from every untoward event..."

Little did the writer know that many unhappy events would mar the future history of this earthly paradise.

In the nostalgic coffee-table book *Zamboanga Hermosa* (1984), planned and edited by Dr. Antonio Orendain, one reads of peaceful co-existence between Muslims and Christians from the pre-World War II period up to the 1960s. Both groups had adjusted to each other's folkways, and getting along was a socio-economic matter of give-and-take. Moro fishermen and pearl divers sold their goods to their Christian fellowmen at the public market. Moros and Christians together enjoyed theatrical and musical per-

performances at Plaza Pershing, the town's Central Park. They played mahjong and billiards with one another and communicated fluently in Chabacano. The American garrison included Moros wearing exotic headdresses and armed with bolo bayonets.

Moro festivities, such as weddings and the arrival of relatives from Mecca, were attended by Christians, and music was provided by Christian musicians. Christmas parties were in turn attended by the Muslims. The spectacular annual Catholic fiesta in honor of the Lady of Pilar drew enthusiastic Muslims from Basilan, Sulu, and villages near Zamboanga.

Whether you've lived in Zamboanga or not, you can only weep to hear current reports that the Zamboangans are just marking time before the renewed outbreak of hostilities. Who will fire the first armalite — a Christian or a Muslim? The Muslims are heavily outnumbered but they have the support of the oil-rich Arabs. The U.S.A. keeps its mouth shut because this war has nothing to do with communism or the military bases.

"I know the problem," declares Ide Tillah of Tawi-Tawi, former captain in the Philippine Navy, who discourses eloquently and knowledgeably on the Mindanao powderkeg. "We Muslims feel we are second-rate citizens. Eighty per cent of the investments made by non-Mindanaoans in our area is siphoned out of Mindanao. We are the milking cow of businessmen and politicians in Luzon. You see these superstructures of the Puyats, Sarmientos, the Alcantaras in Makati? That's money taken out of Mindanao. Who are the people assigned to work in their different outfits in Mindanao? They're not from Mindanao. And yet we have a lot of people qualified to man industries."

As Butz Aquino puts it, the Tillahs belong to Sulu's 40, not Sulu's 400, because in those depressed islands it's impossible to have more than 40 well-to-do families. Al Tillah, Ide's brother, is now running for the sole congressional seat of Tawi-Tawi. Tillah's sister, senatorial candidate Santanina Rasul, was a teacher of Nurullaji Misuari at the Jolo Elementary School. Ide Tillah was a close associate of Misuari at the U.P., where they organized the U.P. Muslim Society and its Los Banos branch together with Dean Cesar Adib Majul and S.V. Epistola.

After the declaration of martial law Ide Tillah lost touch with Misuari, and the next thing he heard, Misuari's men were being decimated in

the war. After the burning of Jolo in the 70s, Tillah told then-Defense Minister Ponce Enrile, "Don't think Nur Misuari is a communist. He is not a communist."

Listening to Tillah, one becomes less confused about the current conflict between Misuari and two others claiming leadership of the local Muslim community.

"They used to be united under the Moro National Liberation Front," explains Tillah. "The fact that they are now quarreling shows the success of Marcos's divide-and-rule policy. As a Navy commander in 1976, I knew Marcos was going to split the movement. Nur Misuari, a Tausug from Jolo, is still chairman of the genuine MNLF; Hashim Salamat, a Maguindanao from Cotabato, heads the MILF; and Dimas Pundato, a Maranaw, heads the MNLF Reformists. Salamat and Pundato used to be lieutenants of Misuari."

It was martial law that compelled Misuari to fight for the survival of Islam and the Muslims of the Philippines, says Tillah. The Arabs trust him and supported him in his struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. Khadafy looks on him as a hero, a real *mujahid*, or warrior who strives for the cause of religion. Misuari enjoys the support of the Muslim league called RABETA, as well as the OIC, or Office of Islamic Conference. The other self-styled leaders now complicating the issue are not backed by the international Muslim community.

To Tillah, the chief problem that the nation must address today is not the CPP-NPA but the MNLF. A Moro uprising would commit the Armed Forces to the South and would render the rest of the country vulnerable to the communist insurgents. He believes that the MNLF has a larger mass-based support than the CPP-NPA.

Tillah wishes we would read the text of the Tripoli Agreement to learn the desires and aspirations of the Muslims. "I would like something like the federal states of the U.S.A.," he says. "The Tripoli Agreement speaks of a people living within a circumscribed area, with its own militia under the umbrella of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. It would have the power to tax the citizens and to retain 80 per cent of its income. The solution to the problem is a matter of restructuring and redirecting the efforts of the national government by way of granting us autonomy. We hope the Filipino voters will find it in their hearts and minds to vote for Muslim candidates to Congress. We cannot afford to have

legislators who will throw a monkey wrench in President Cory's plans for our jurisdiction."

As for Misuari's refusal to allow a plebiscite to decide the extent of autonomy for the Muslim South, Tillah explains that Misuari goes by the Islamic principle called *izma*, which has been practiced for thousands of years. *Izma* means the process of arriving at a consensus through "everybody" committees consisting of families, councils, and other assorted groups. What Misuari hopes to do is to go around the Mindanao area consulting with these committees in order to evolve an opinion of what both Muslims and Christians really want.

In the meantime the Christians would be wise to learn about Islam before condemning the Muslims. Tillah recounts an incident that took place in 1976, when he was in the Navy. At that time young soldiers who had undergone training in Camp Aquino in Tarlac were sent to Mindanao to fight. During an inspection tour of a village in Tawi-Tawi, Captain Tillah was horrified to learn that the young soldiers, most of whom he had treated as his own sons, had butchered a pig in a mosque and had set a machine-gun nest on the roof of the same mosque, with total insensitivity to the villagers' religious feelings.

"I had the entire battalion evacuated from Batu-Bato," he recalls. "And in Manila I asked for the court martial of the soldiers involved. After that, no soldiers could be shipped to Mindanao without listening to Commander Tillah's lectures on Islam. The incident was never repeated."

Ancient misconceptions about Muslims continue to thrive in this day and age, threatening to shred the already tenuous fabric of Muslim-Christian relations. For instance, a wide-ranging belief among educated non-Muslim Filipinos is that if the Christians had not arrived, Mindanao would have remained uncivilized. This is somewhat like saying that were it not for the Americans, Filipinos would never have learned to brush their teeth.

Here are a few other myths that make Christians suspicious of Muslims in general:

- (1) Every Muslim is a potential *juramentado*; just hand him a *kris* and he will run amuck.
- (2) Islamic dogma says that no Muslim can enter heaven on his white horse unless he carries the head of a Christian he has killed.
- (3) Given a chance, a Muslim would exchange all of his four wives for one armalite.

According to Cesar Adib Majul, author of

Muslims in the Philippines, the word *juramentado* literally means a person who has taken an oath. The term originally referred to Muslim warriors who, after certain religious rites and a night of prayer, would on the next day rush at Christian invaders with the intention of killing as many as possible without expecting to survive the battle. Paradise was to be the reward of such dedication to the Faith. *Juramentado* also referred to Muslim warriors who fought with such religious fervor as to be judged fanatical by their enemies.

It is unfortunate that in time the word came to apply to any Muslim who killed in the heat of passion, or who, instead of committing suicide, attacked law enforcers who happened to be Christians. These *amucks* have no religious motives whatsoever. Your non-Muslim neighbor may run amuck and demolish his entire family for purely psychotic, not religious, reasons. Disgruntled soldiers in the Philippine Army do it quite often. Says Majul: "Proportionally speaking, there is the probability that there are more amucks among the Christians than among the Muslims in the Philippines."

The image of a Muslim galloping into heaven while clutching the wide-eyed decapitated head of a Christian is traced by Ide Tillah to propaganda invented by a sultan to inspire bravery in Muslim warriors. In the glorious era of the sultanates, every sultan was a religious leader and a military commander rolled into one. After a service he would say, "Oh, my brothers and sisters in Islam, this is a very glorious day to fight for the Faith. If you kill a white man today (meaning a Christian, of course), you are assured of a place in heaven." In Tillah's opinion, this fanatical message was no less effective than the inspirational speeches of Napoleon or Hannibal. "But plain killing is not sanctioned by our religion," he avers. "To fight in self-defense, to fight in the name of God - that is okay."

Nor is it true that a Muslim would give up his wives for a rifle. "The story just accentuates the fighting prowess of the Muslims," laughs Tillah. "It might be true of other Filipinos as well."

If only because Muslim and Christian Filipinos share a common cultural matrix, there is still hope that the current negotiations will have a satisfactory outcome. Majul put the matter succinctly when he wrote, "A problem now among the Muslims is how to preserve in peace a Faith that was safeguarded in war."

Christian cooperation is all they need.

PNB CAMPAIGN ALLEGES LOSS DUE TO INTIMIDATION

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 p 10

[Article by Carolyn O. Arguillas]

[Text]

HE, ALONG with his party-mates, suffered heavily under military repression in the days of Marcos and at present still suffer from surveillance of military intelligence operations.

He has been shot, arrested, tortured, detained, but instead of nurturing hatred for the men in uniform, Bernabe Buscayno, better known as "Kumander Dante," on the second leg of the Partido ng Bayan's seven day Mindanao campaign, in an evening rally at the Butuan City Plaza and in the presence of heavily-armed soldiers, told the multi-sectoral crowd that he doesn't blame the soldiers. "*Kaya nila naginga (yon ay dahil sa sistema. Hindi natin sila sinisist. Ang ating sisihin ay ang sistema at ang nagpapairal ng sistema; yung mga nasa taas na nag-uutos, na inuutusan naman ng mga dayuhan.*"

"Perhaps they did it because of the system. We are not going to blame them. We are blaming the system and the people running the system; those higher-ups who give the orders are themselves being ordered by foreigners."

The system and the laws which propagate the system, he said, led

the soldiers into doing ill. Dante said that his long years in detention has made him understand the life of a soldier.

Said he in Tagalog: "The soldiers also come from our ranks. Most of them enlisted because that is the only job they can find. Their salaries are even lower than those of the Metro Manila Aides, not enough to feed their family."

Dante added that soldiers are forced to commit human rights abuses, oppress the masses, plant evidences and extort money. "We understand your situation," he addressed the soldiers and the intelligence operatives, and to the multi-sectoral crowd said, "the soldiers also came from our ranks; we understand why they are forced to do these things; but we should do our share in advising them."

"Let us look at the roots of the problem, always," Dante said, after which he explained that the new politics the PnB is espousing is one that addresses the problem of society at its roots.

Dante, journalist Jose Burgos, lawyer Romeo Capulong, peasant leader Jaime Tadeo, technocrat Horacio Morales, woman leader Nelia Sancho and labor leader Crispin Beltran, together with the children of Administration candidates Bobby Tanada and Bobbit Sanchez will end their Mindanao sortie on

April 25 with rallies in the most controversial areas where vigilantes roam — Davao del Sur and Davao City.

How the PnB senatorial candidates will fare in Mindanao — the island of unrest — is worth watching.

This early, however, there are indications that in areas where population control is exercised through the red scare scheme, election results may not truly reflect the will of the people. Analysts say the election in a sitio or barangay may avoid voting the "communists" (as the PnB candidates are referred to) for fear of getting the backlash after the elections.

For 50-year-old Pedro Makabugto, an urban poor resident of Butuan City, the charges of "communism" leveled against PnB, he said, are nothing but harassment — a way to divide the people. This is our chance to let our voices be heard in the lawmaking body of our country, he told Veritas. In closing, he added: *"kung magpaiala ta sa kahadlok, kung atong pugngan ang atong boses, kinsa man ang musulti para sa ato?"* (If we allow ourselves to cower in fear, if we prevent our voices from being heard, who will speak for us?)

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CSO: 4200/616

VERITAS HITS GOVERNMENT FAILURE TO DISCIPLINE ERRANT TROOPS

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 p 6

[Editorial: "Military Dissidents: When Will the Book Hit the Culprits?"]

[Text] The military problem no longer poses the same kind of threat against government that it did when Juan Ponce Enrile as Minister of Defense provided the necessary political leadership for the disgruntled factions within the armed forces.

But the military continues to be a thorn on the side of the Aquino government. And the effect is just as debilitating.

In a chain of coups and mutinies military dissidents continue to take on the country's leadership. And the public has become quite cynical about the government's will, as well as its capability, to do anything about it. No one really believes that the so-called misguided elements constitute an interventionary force that can take over government. But the people still expect government officials, both civilian and military, to work together to quell the unrest in the armed forces.

Such dissidence within the armed forces continues to distract the government from the urgent problems demanding its attention. To say the least, the image of the country's leadership is not enhanced by a military that cannot seem to submit to the authority and discipline of its superiors. Surely the President's troublesome relationship with the armed forces raises questions about her credibility as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

Those who believe in the President as still the best option for the country at present are probably the most concerned. Quite clearly, the internal conflicts in the military suggest the kind of divisiveness that will affect the ability of the armed forces to fight the communist insurgents as well as the Muslim secessionists.

It is unrealistic to expect public complacency about these two issues. It is not that these problems will be solved by military solutions alone, but government strategy must be able to depend on the effectiveness of the armed forces as a fighting force. And such effectivity requires the internal discipline of the officers and the soldiers.

Thus the most recent military rebellions reflect that fundamental lack in the armed forces today. The most recent ventures strike us as theatre, relying on posturing registering as antic rather than action. The purpose is to dramatize the support for earlier plotters and conspirators, thereby justifying their grievances against authorities.

These grievances have been accorded a certain legitimacy in the past. Certain sectors were sympathetic with the military's protest against the government's handling of the insurgency and the resistance of the men in uniform to the prosecution of human rights abuses in the past while amnesty was being offered to the NPA surrenderees.

But at this time the complaint seems more primitive. It seems quite clear now that the misguided elements are disgruntled about the loss of their status of privilege and power and the economic opportunities which they enjoyed in the past. When the public reads the names linked to these rebellions, they can only conclude that the object is the perpetuation of a past system from which these people benefitted enormously.

These latest capers attempt to create the resonance for the issues of military dissidence; to suggest that the cause is not marginalized and that they command a following in the armed forces.

The crisis has been left to fester long enough. The people have heard the President's command "to throw the book" at the culprits but have yet to see the book hit anyone.

The President must now be willing to activate the chain of command and go after all these people who have been ordered arrested but who have so far remained at large. And the military leaders must show their ability as well as willingness to carry out these orders.

The military commanders need to demonstrate their capability as a fighting force. But how can the people believe them, if they cannot even defend the republic against the dissidents in their ranks.

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CSO: 4200/616

NEMENZO AMONG CANDIDATES FOR UP PRESIDENT

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 pp 4, 5

[Article by Lorenzo B. Ziga]

[Text]

THE UP Presidency is a public official's surest way to political doom.

All UP Presidents came to the post blessed with credentials obtained in the course of their distinguished careers until Diliman beckoned. All of them left the University under a cloud.

With barely three months left of Edgardo Angara's term as UP President, the College of Arts and Letters (CAL) conducted the first straw ballot in the UP campus. With Angara's inclusion in the Lakas ng Bayan senatorial slate, the straw ballots came in more frequent intervals with the move to re-install Angara as UP President nipped in the bud.

The results of the CAL balloting may have set the trend for the other straw counts that followed. Leading the aspirants in the CAL and the other surveys is former College of Arts and Sciences Dean Francisco Nemenzo Jr. with former UP President Emmanuel Soriano a close second in some of the polls. The UP Academic Community (UPAC), which had led protest actions in the Diliman campus during the February Revolution, confirmed the trend established in the previous counts. Nemenzo was the front runner.

The Board of Regents, which by

law shall choose the next UP President, is composed of the Chancellors of the different autonomous campuses, the President of the Alumni Association, the Student Regent, the Minister of Education and Culture as Chairman and the appointive members, the majority of whom should be graduates of the University.

In a recent manifesto, the chairman of the different UP student councils observed:

"As stipulated in the University Charter (Act 1870 as amended), the BOR has the sole prerogative of electing the leader of the premier institution of higher learning in the country. It is indeed ironic that the question of leadership must be resolved by only a select few when it is the entire UP community who would be most affected by the choice of the next President. As it is, there is only one Student Regent representing the 26,000 students in the nine campuses scattered nationwide. The BOR excludes the faculty and the non-academic personnel of the University."

With the vacancy in the UP Presidency, the BOR constituted itself into a search committee and opened nominations for the position from among the UP alumni. Sources say that among the names that cropped

un in the screening committee's list were those of Dean Nemenzo, Dr. Jose Abueva of the United Nations University; Dr. Ernesto G. Tabujara, acting OIC of the UP; Dr. Raul P. de Guzman, UP Los Banos Chancellor; and Dr. Emmanuel Soriano, former UP President. Also named as probable candidates were nationalist historian Renato Constantino, Economic Planning Secretary Solita C. Monsod, Malacanang adviser Florida Ruth Romero; and Dr. Emerenciana Arcellana.

With two weeks left in the BOR's original deadline, sources say that even as the search committee goes through the motions of a democratic consultation process, the deciding qualification will be the ability to raise funds for the University. "The selection of the UP President is not a popularity contest", one BOR member was supposed to have said.

In a symposium attended by other nominees for the UP Presidency, Nemenzo revealed however that an Aquino Cabinet member had told him that his denunciation of human rights violations and adventurism in the military may reduce his chances of winning the UP Presidency.

Nemenzo recalled that when he was appointed Dean of the College of Arts and Letters in 1976, the CAS was then the largest single academic unit in the UP before it was split into three Colleges. The BOR, he said, made it clear in his appointment that he was being appointed because of his academic credentials but noted that his political beliefs posed a threat to "national security."

Nemenzo's deanship of the CAS opened the floodgates of protest at the UP. "After Marcos declared martial law, UP was the first University that gained its composure and experimented with subtle forms of protest. In 1977, UP students tested and enlarged the limits of legality by the first successful strike which turned the College of Arts and Sciences into an oasis of freedom. Even the people from outside - Navotas fishermen and harassed Tondo residents - would come to Palma Hall because that was the only place where they could articulate their grievances," Nemenzo recalls.

"Marcos may have gone but political bigotries remain to delimit the democratic space. In this atmosphere, my chances of becoming the UP President are slim. Until the selection process is democratized and the University constituency is given an adequate voice, it would require a miracle to put a controversial person in Quezon Hall," Nemenzo said.

"I am a socialist," he admitted as he replied to questions about student's tuition and benefits enjoyed by UP employees, "and I will see to it that some socialized schemes will be worked out wherein those who can pay must pay and those who could not afford may even be subsidized."

He added however, that he did not favor the proposal for a permanent housing grant to employees and their children's

automatic admission to the University, since that would "defeat the purpose of UP."

The results of the straw ballots that have been conducted show that the majority in the academe (who voted for Nemenzo) feel that only a UP insider can best deal with the crisis that face the University at this juncture.

UPAC's Connie Paz believes that a colleague from the academe would obviate the crises that the appointment of previous UP Presidents presented. Edgardo Angara was not among those nominated by the UP community to the Board of Regents in 1981 but as he later recounted, he was "nominated by Regent Ronaldo Zamora and the nomination was seconded by Regent Estelito P. Mendoza." Angara's appointment was welcomed by the former President as long overdue since Marcos felt the University needed not an academic "but an administrator."

The UP Presidency is one big balancing act between the prudence required of high bureaucracy and Diliman's traditional activism. The key to understanding the dilemma of the UP Presidency inheres in the dynamics of the University in Philippine society: that as it fulfills its teaching and research function it seeks to preserve the status quo and with the new clarity and understanding that results from the unearthed knowledge, the University of the Philippines is subversive of the community's inertia.

SIGNS OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY SUMMARIZED

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 p 14

[Article by Ma. Luz Yap Baguioro]

[Text] Both the government and the private sector perceive a glimmer of light in their latest assessment of the Philippine economy. Economic recovery, hitherto a virtual dream, is gradually pinkening the economic horizon.

The good news is borne out by figures from the Central Bank, the Finance Department, the National Census and Statistics Office, the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Foreign investment rose by 406 per cent last March. Total foreign equity in new and existing firms from January to March this year totalled P363.8 million, four times more than the P93.6 million year-ago total. It comprised more than 60 percent of the total local and foreign capital infusion, unmistakably mirroring substantial foreign confidence in Corazon Aquino's government. And better prospects are seen ahead.

The Japanese sun will soon be rising over Negros Occidental's ramie industry. Japanese investors, fired on the success of their invasion of the U.S. real property market and heartened by the release of Mitsui executive Nobuyuki Wakaoji, signified their willingness to construct a degumming plant and a staple fiber-making plant.

Construction activity, one of the barometers investors rely upon and which slumped by 70 percent since 1983, has picked up by 25 percent since October 1986. The cement shortage and the vigorous demand for galvanized iron sheets clearly indicate this. Related industries like paint, glass and wood will consequently benefit from the rebound.

The opening of import letters of credit (issued to provide importers with funds to pay imported goods) leaped by 30 to 35 percent, signifying a business activity that is fast gaining momentum.

Total imports for the first two months of 1987 amounted to \$869 million, 15.7 percent higher than 1986 figures. There was increased importation of plywood, pineapple and pineapple products, edible molasses, unmanufactured tobacco, micro-circuits and garments last February.

An increase of 11.4 percent from last year's export figures for January and February was reported. But with export earnings at \$764 million (a marked effect of the decline in traditional exports, like sugar, gold, bananas and coconut oil), the country suffered a trade deficit (imports minus exports) of \$105 million. Total trade, however, registered an increase of 13.6 percent.

Considering the 20 to 30 percent growth in production capacity of major industries, businessmen predict a 9 to 10 percent increase in import demand which will kick the projected trade gap to about \$800 million and the foreign exchange rate to about P21.50 against \$1 by December. Export growth, on the other hand, is expected to hit the government's target of 7 percent.

Projected economic growth for 1987 is placed between 6 to 7 percent, a marked departure from the 0.13 percent posted at the end of 1986 and the 3.8 negative growth in 1985.

As a result of renewed business confidence, more workplaces opened and consequently, the people's purchasing power improved. Five industries—food processing, home furniture and appliances, iron and steel, electronics and mining—registered the highest sales during the first two months of 1987.

Electric consumption rose by three percent. Due to the revived building industry, prices of real estate are now pegged at much improved levels.

Inflation shrank to 0.53 percent last January and around \$30 million flowed back into the country in that same month.

About 113 companies will be put up for sale as mandated by the government's policy to privatize state-owned or controlled enterprises. The move is expected to raise productivity and strengthen the economy where government presence (and interference) in business once prevailed.

Given these figures, there is no doubt that things are looking up for the Philippines' hobbling economy. The country's creditors have evidently taken note of this. Late last March, the Philippines' 483 creditor banks approved a \$13.2 million debt restructuring package which can save the country \$1.94 billion over the next 17 years. It was, in Finance Secretary Jaime Ongpin's words, "a deal that is truly better than Mexico's." Recently, though, Ongpin called for a new round of talks in the wake of Argentina's "better" deal with the IMF-WB.

Moreover, World Bank President Walter Conable promised to give the country fresh loan commitments amounting to \$600 million this year.

Analysts, however, find it ironic that the economy shows signs of recuperating in spite of an armed forces that is "out of step"—a reference to the series of coup plots mounted by disaffected members of the military. It is traditionally believed that political climate affects a country's economic performance; that economic growth proceeds from a relatively peaceful situation. The Philippine situation apparently defies this age-old thinking but analysts are just not ready to commit any conclusion. However, expectations are high that those at the top should act as tough as they sound.

CITY WAGES INADEQUATE TO MEET DAILY NEEDS

Quezon City VERITAS in English 30 Apr-6 May 87 p 15

[Article: "Starvation Pay and Workers Woes"]

[Text]

THE present minimum wage for industrial workers in Metro Manila is P57.08. This includes the basic wage (P37) and the Cost of Living Allowance (P17, COLA), together with thirteenth-month pay. At the recent tripartite conference of labor at Tagaytay, the Labor Advisory and Consultative Council (LACC) fought for a P10 increase in the minimum wage and the integration of the COLA into the basic wage. Both of these demands were opposed by the employers, led by the Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP), on the grounds that industry cannot afford to finance such wage increases. The labor sector contests this, pointing out that industry continues to make huge profits even as Filipino workers' labor remains undervalued and underrewarded. The claim by management that it cannot afford to pay rings hollow in the face of the workers' lot: poverty, inadequate housing, malnutrition and ill-health. If management and labor are truly to work together to bring about the reconstruction of the Philippine economy, then management must begin to face up to its responsibilities before industrial strife becomes more widespread.

How much is the minimum wage worth? Can it support the average family of six people, consisting of two parents, three children and one grandparent? Figures from 1985, collated by the National Census and Statistics Office, show that Filipino families spend the major part of their income in the following way:

Food 51.2%
Housing 12.5%

Fuel, Light and Water 5.2%
Transport and Communication 4.5%
Clothes 3.6%
Education 3.5%
Household Operations 2.4%
Household Equipment 1.9%

Over half of the family income, on average, is spent on food. The percentages of income available for recreation (0.5%) and special occasions (0.9%) have decreased significantly since 1965, from figures of 1.8% and 2.7% respectively. More and more of the family's income is spent on necessities: in a developing society, the opposite trend would be expected.

Since so much of family income is spent on food, are people well-nourished? According to the Food and Nutrition Research Institute (FNRI), the average family (as defined above) should have the following daily diet:

Commodity	Cost
Evaporated Milk (1 Small Tin)	P 4.50
Fish/Meat/Poultry (1 Kilo)	P44.00
Eggs (3 Pieces)	P 4.50
Dried Beans and Nuts (100 grams)	P 4.00
Cereals (2 Kilos)	P12.00
Kamote/Potatoes (1/2 Kilo)	P 4.00
Sugar (150 Grams)	P 1.20
Fats (3/4 Cup)	P 1.00
Leafy/Yellow Vegetables (1/2 Kilo)	P 6.00
Vitamin-C Rich Foods (1/2 Kilo)	P 6.00
Other Fruits and Vegetables (1 Kilo)	P 8.00
TOTAL COST	= P95.20

Recent market prices for these items are also shown. The total budget for one day

is P95.20, which is almost twice the minimum wage. And this is for food only. An estimate from IBON Databank (IBON Facts and Figures, Number 194, September 1986) puts the daily expenditure for a family of six at P114.68, twice the minimum wage. Even to buy the food required to keep a family of six healthy (as recommended by a Government research body) is impossible on the minimum wage.

What do workers actually earn? The Occupational Wage Survey (National Wage Council/DOLE, 1986) gives the following typical daily wages:

Food Manufacturing

Electrician P54.35
Forklift Operator P58.85
Butcher P64.27
Confectionary Cooker P57.96
Rolling Machine Operator P58.92

Textiles

Loom Operator P54.89
Spinner P53.08
Telephone Operator P62.96
Mechanic P56.04

Paper Products

Box Maker P61.15
Finisher P61.58

Shipbuilding

Carpenter P55.73
Welder P58.54
Fitter P59.73

Hospitals

Nurse P53.23

Construction

Electrician P56.62
Mason P56.46
Painter P51.42

Retail

Cashier P60.39
Sales Attendant P56.35

Hotels

Houseboy P56.77
Bellman P57.73

Most of these figures are either just above or just below the minimum wage. Many other wages recorded in the report are above the minimum wage, although they are still inadequate to support a family of six. The base level of the minimum wage is so low as to make it meaningless as a legal protection for the workers.

Even this low rate has been challenged recently by the employers, who want to see the minimum wage removed. Their argument has two threads. First, they say that by paying lower wages to workers, industrial recovery can be speeded up,

and the workers will therefore benefit in the long-term: but the long-term is too distant for the family that is starving and homeless now. Secondly, the employers say free collective bargaining should decide wage levels, without government intervention. At present, with only 10% of workers organized in unions, collective bargaining will in most cases be one-sided, with a monopoly of resources (such as expensive lawyers and economic researchers) on the management side. In theory, if the workers were more organized, then collective bargaining could decide wage levels: but the minimum wage would still be required as a legal protection. The minimum wage is exactly that: given the correct circumstances, there is no reason why workers should not negotiate for a wage far above the minimum.

Since 1978, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) has risen from a base level of 100 to the present level of 365 (an increase of 265%). In contrast, although the minimum wage has risen in money terms during the same period from P16.28 to P57.08, it is now only worth P15.98 in 1978 terms (due to the reduced value of the peso), a devaluation of 2%. The minimum wage in 1978 was not a living wage: now it is worth even less.

What happens when the minimum wage cannot even ensure adequate food for the family? The lowest-paid are bound to suffer from malnutrition and ill health due to inadequate diet and the other factors that accompany poverty, such as poor housing and lack of sanitation. A recent report by the FNRI shows nutritionally-related problems increasing among Filipinos, especially children. While the diet of Filipinos generally improved in terms of nutrient intake in the period 1978-82, it was only in protein intake that Filipinos obtained 100% of the Recommended Daily Allowance (RDA). Since 1984, this trend has reversed: Filipinos in Metro Manila get only 87.7% RDA of Calories (for energy), 78.6% RDA Calcium, 70.2% RDA Riboflavin, 80.6% RDA Thiamine, 86.8% RDA Ascorbic Acid, and 85.5% RDA Iron. In some parts of the Philippines the situation is even worse (e.g.) in the Visayas, 51.5% RDA Riboflavin, 75% RDA Calcium). In Negros, in 1985, the National Nutrition Council found that 30.2% of pre-schoolers were under-height for their age and 18.4% were (under-weight for the height). Anyone who has visited the malnutrition ward in Bacolod will have seen such statistics brought graphically and

horribly to life: severely malnourished and dying children, commonly suffering third-degree protein-calorie malnutrition, with symptoms of weight loss, osteomalacia, gastrointestinal disorders, weakness, mental dullness, poor wound-healing, hair-loss, muscular wasting. The list is endless. The fundamental cause of such illness is not just lack of well-balanced diet: it is lack of any diet at all. And it is not only in Negroes that people are starving, although the results are most clearly displayed there. Avitaminosis and other nutrient disorders are now the eighth largest cause of mortality, and many other killer diseases are related to poverty and poor diet.

In the recently-approved Constitution, the duty of the State to the labor sector is clearly defined: to "protect the rights of the workers and promote their welfare," and to recognize the "right of labor to a just share in the fruits of production" and to a "living wage." The existing legislated minimum wage is not a living wage, it cannot adequately support a family of six. Removing the minimum wage restraint will only lead to greater exploitation by unscrupulous employers. What is needed is for a higher minimum wage to be introduced and enforced, to protect those workers at the bottom of the wage ladder. The minimum wage should at least allow a family access to the basic necessities of life: food, clothing, good health and shelter. Until the Government acts to fulfill its obligations to the workers, the plight of the poorest-paid will continue to grow worse.

/9274
CSO: 4200/616

PRIVATE SECTOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS EFFORTS URGED

HK181355 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 18 May 87 p 3

[By Carol I. Guevarra]

[Excerpts] The Department of Transportation and Communication will come up with more definite policies for the telecommunications industry to encourage more private investments in the sector, Secretary Rainerio O. Reyes said.

In a speech delivered at the opening ceremonies of the National Telecommunications Week last Saturday, Reyes underscored the importance of telecommunications in the overall economic development program and emphasized the need for greater private sector initiative in the industry.

On the role the private sector has to play, Reyes said private telecom firms must "provide the capital and service to mobilize technical expertise in setting up facilities not only in the urban but particularly in the rural areas."

Reyes noted that while international service compares favorably with systems found in other places, the domestic services, both for voice and record, leave much to be desired.

Reports show that as of end 1986, there were 13 provinces and eight cities still without telephone service while around 300 municipalities and towns do not have the basic telegraph system.

To overcome these deficiencies, various telecommunication companies are undertaking development and expansion projects. Among these are the X-5 program of the Phil. Long Distance Telephone Co., the Piltel expansion and modernization program, the regional (rural) telecommunications development project of the Bureau of Telecommunications, and the Data Network project using the packet switching technology of PT&T.

Meanwhile, telecommunication companies have appealed anew to the government for more support in the development of telecommunications infrastructure in the country.

Citing the vital role of communications in the country's economic recovery, the Philippine Electronics and Telecommunications Federation, the umbrella organization representing the private sector in the telecommunications industry, reiterated the appeal in the hope that policy-planners would now give more priority and attention to the sector when formulating socioeconomic development programs.

/9716

CS0: 5500/4321

CARTOON LAMPOONS SUBSERVIENCE TO U.S., PREM'S ARMY SHIELD

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 25 May 87 p 3

[Text]

Extraterritorial privilege

สิทธิพิเศษนอกอาณาเขต..

■ เวชชาชีวะ!

of the opposition

■ เวชชาชีวะ!

of the great friend

USE

right law

[Sittichai]

[Prem]

■ เวชชาชีวะ!! Of the government

[Prem]

Military area,
No Entry

/9599

CS01 4207/223

FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES, FETES PRC DELEGATION

BK291201 Bangkok ZHONG HUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 May 87 p 4

[Excerpts] The visiting vice president of the Association for International Understanding of China, Lei Jieqiong, and her delegation, accompanied by PRC Embassy Counselor Tang Fuquan, paid a courtesy call on Foreign Minister Air chief Marshal [ACM] Sitthi Sawetsila at the Foreign Ministry at 1830 on 26 May. During the cordial, friendly talks, both sides stressed the present close relations and cooperation in various fields between the two nations.

Director General of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department Sarot Chawanawirat gave reporters details of the meeting. ACM Sitthi noted for Lei Fuquan the close relations between Thailand and China in the political and economic fields. In the political field, his own relations with PRC foreign Minister Wu Xueqian and all the PRC deputy foreign ministers are very close. He believes that the delegation's visit to Thailand will further strengthen relations between the two countries.

Mrs Lei Jieqiong agreed with ACM Sitthi, saying that her delegation's visit to Thailand is aimed at promoting understanding between the two nations. The visit gives the delegation a chance to understand the life of the Thai people to promote relations between the two countries in all areas.

At 1900, ACM Sitthi and his wife hosted a banquet in honor of the delegation at the Foreign Ministry. In his speech, ACM Sitthi noted that the peoples of the two nations have strengthened their exchanges in the social, educational, and trade fields and established closer relations in recent years. As the saying goes, the Thai and Chinese are not strangers to each other; they have a fraternal relationship. He believes that Mrs Lei Jieqiong, who has played a role in reforming Chinese state enterprises and companies, will help boost the trade and economic development of the two nations. ACM Sitthi added that he had already visited China 10 times and will continue to visit there. He believes that the Chinese delegation's visit will be productive, contributing to strengthening and developing friendship and relations between the governments and peoples of the two nations.

In her reply speech, Mrs Lei Jieqiong stressed that Sino-Thai friendship has a long history. Bilateral relations in the political, economic, cultural, and military fields have become increasingly close since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975. The Thai crown prince's visit to China in February has raised the friendship between the two peoples to a new, higher level, worthy of the congratulations of the two governments and peoples.

She added that the visit of the minister attached to the Prime Minister's Office and deputy leader of Social Action Party, Chaisiri Ruangkanchanaset, and his delegation to China last year was the first time that a delegation from a Thai political party had visited China. Although they stayed only 5 days, the visit laid a solid foundation for bilateral exchanges. She believes that exchanges of visits will strengthen understanding and friendship between the peoples and organizations of the two nations.

In addition to PRC Embassy Counselor Tang Fuquan and his wife and senior PRC Embassy officials, Minister Attached to the Prime Minister's Office Chaisiri Ruangkanchanaset and Deputy Foreign Minister Praphat Limpaphan and his wife were invited to the banquet.

At the invitation of Foreign Minister Sitthi, the delegation of the Association for International Understanding of China arrived in Bangkok on 25 May for a 5-day visit to reciprocate Minister Attached to the Prime Minister's Office Chaisiri's visit to China last year.

/12232

CSO: 4200/614

CARTOON SPOOFS SOVIET, CHINESE IMPACT ON THAILAND

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 21 May 87 p 14

[Cartoon]



COLUMNIST REGRETS POOR STATE OF RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 3 May 87 p 2

[Text] "As the World Turns" column by Trirat Soonthornpraphad

Living the Thai way.

The Thai are unfortunate. Their neighbors are not capable at all; but in fact, it seems that they cause trouble for the Thai. If this is not so, it may be we who are pursuing the wrong policies, therefore, every one of them is trying to take revenge.

It is discomfoting to see Vietnam join with the Heng Samrin Cambodians to fight Sihanouk and then invade Thai territory. The latest is that they seized some territory and would not withdraw until we had sent a large number of soldiers to fight with them and chase them out. Looking at the Cambodian problem leads us to believe that Vietnam does not want Thailand to be close to the soviets. In truth, just as in my written warning before Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila visited Moscow, he saw some clues such as Laos, which appeared to be passive before, become aggressive and attack Thailand on several matters. The deputy foreign minister who came to Thailand, Soubanh Sarittilad, appeared to be destroying the relationship as if Vietnam had instructed him on everything he said. Thailand should not fall into any traps. We must solve the problems we have with Laos quickly. We have to concentrate on trading benefits. We should not mix Laotian, Cambodian, and Vietnamese issues with contacting the soviets.

As we know, Vietnam is the bastard and its leaders are very stubborn; they will not listen to anyone readily, not even the soviets. Thus, we do not believe Vietnam will be passive.

For example, China is able to affect the life and death of Vietnam, yet the latter is so daring it even declared war on China.

On the Burmese side, the fighting has just slowed down. The hill tribe people on the northern Thai-Burmese border sought refuge in Thailand. The Burmese Army chased them and created troubles for Thailand.

In the south, the latest situation is that Thai fishing boats have been captured by Malaysia. Malaysia took the opportunity to capture every boat no matter if it was in international waters or sometimes on the boundary between territories. It sets heavy fines, about 100,000-1,000,000 baht. If the fishermen do not have the money, they are put in jail. Thai fishermen have been too capable; they have caught so much fish in the Gulf of Thailand, that the fish are near extinction. Thus, they invade the waters of neighboring countries and have been captured by Bangladesh, India, Burma, Malaysia, Cambodia, and Vietnam for example.

The fishermen in the south have been harassed in every way including being fired upon, captured, and jailed by Malaysia. On several occasions, the Thai fishing boats were certainly in Thai territory, but they were given so much trouble that they could not tolerate it. Therefore, a large number in Pattani Province has urged the inert government, which likes to let situations solve themselves and does not like to face problems that it should address seriously, to protect Thai fishing achievements which have gone downhill to the extent that the fishermen do not want to go out to sea because so little hope remained. The fishermen have to struggle and take risks for survival, they go out as though blind to catch fish in some areas because they do not know in whose territory they are.

It is time that the Thai Navy protect the fishermen in their territorial waters in peacetime rather than thinking about war; it should use those ships which do not have large weapons but move quickly and are good for patrolling. Thus, Thai fishermen would not be taken advantage of by foreign nations.

To be born a Thai in this time is hopeless because the government cannot be depended upon.

We may have to wait for a revolution, may we not?

13216/12947

CSO: 4207/188

INDOCHINESE REFUGEE PROBLEM, OPTIONS VIEWED

BK290001 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 29 May 87 p 3

[Text] Thailand may resort to forced repatriation of Indochinese refugees if the world fails to come up with a better solution to end the problem, a Chulalongkorn University expert said yesterday.

The warning came from Dr Amara Phongsapit, when she presented her research paper entitled "Refugee Situation in Thailand" at the start of a 4-day international meeting on refugees, organised by the Institute of Asian Studies at the university.

Dr Amara said the government may take such action "if the international community does not devise a successful plan of mass voluntary repatriation, or offer adequate resettlement opportunities for the refugees."

Thailand's current refugee problem began with the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, and the victory of communism in Cambodia (now Kampuchea) and Laos.

Dr Amara said about 1 million Indochinese refugees crossed into Thailand between 1975 and March last year.

She said the Thai Government, in tackling the problem, has tried three main approaches of resettlement in third countries, voluntary repatriation and relocation.

Since 1975 till March last year, many Western nations had accepted more than 500,000 refugees for resettlement.

The United States appears to have taken in the most with 378,000 refugees, followed by France (73,357), Canada (34,912), Australia (31,217), West Germany (5,156) and New Zealand (3,895).

The voluntary repatriation programme has attracted few of the so-called "volunteers" because "conditions in the home countries have not changed sufficiently to convince refugees that life back home would be better than the time when they left."

Dr Amara said the world had reacted unfavourably to the relocation programme, which came in 1981, when refugees were moved from holding centres to border camps.

Of the three methods, she thought that only the first was working. She subsequently called on third countries to accept more refugees.

Dr Amara concluded that the refugee problem would not be solved so long as the armed conflict in Kampuchea remains unchanged.

Dr Noppawan Chongwathana told the meeting of her survey of the Indochinese refugees, which she conducted in April 1986.

The survey, involving the use of questionnaires to get information, was made at Ban Winai Camp in Pak Chom District of Loei Province; Ban Na Pho Detention Centre in Nakhon Phanom Province; Khao I-Dang in Ta Phraya District of Prachin Buri Province; and at Si Khieu Camp in Nakhon Ratchasima Province.

She discovered that the Kampucheans and the Laotians wished to return home if there was no longer war and Vietnamese in their countries.

Most of the Indochinese refugees fled because they feared of being either jailed or killed and that they were afraid of communism, suffering and uncertainties.

A large number are reportedly happy with conditions at their camps, where there is enough food, housing and greater freedom.

The majority, except the Hmong people at Ban Winai, reportedly keen to resettle in third countries, particularly the United States, Australia, Canada, and France, in that order.

Many are studying foreign languages mostly English, to prepare themselves for resettlement.

/12232

CSO: 4200/614

THAILAND

WEEKLY SUPPORTS FISHERMEN, ASSAILS MALAYSIA

Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 5-11 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Malaysian Aggressiveness"]

[Excerpts] Malaysia has used warships to seize Thai fishing boats and arrested more than 200 Thai fishermen on charges of violating Malaysia's territorial waters, that is, of fishing in Malaysian waters. It seems that this problem is going to grow worse and become a major issue. Because fishermen in the south stopped working and held a protest demonstration. They demanded that the government help them. They charged that Malaysia has seized boats in international waters, not Malaysian waters. Some of these boats were just passing through Malaysian waters on their way home from international waters. They were not fishing in Malaysia's territorial waters.

Actually, the problem of Malaysia sending warships to seize Thai fishing boats operating in international waters and forcing them into Malaysian waters or seizing fishing boats on their way home from fishing in international waters, which necessitates their transitting Malaysian waters, has been a problem for a long time now. That is, Malaysian naval officials extort money from Thai fishermen. If the Thai fishermen refuse to pay, they are framed. That is, they are arrested and prosecuted. Usually, the fishermen are at a great disadvantage in fighting the charges. This is because Malaysia uses the fishing boats that have been pulled into its territorial waters as evidence. Language also poses a problem. As a result, the fishermen are usually convicted and punished.

The Thai government has done little to protect or help the fishermen who have been harassed and arrested by Malaysia. The government feels that this is a difficult and time-consuming task. Thus, all it has done is issue warnings to the fishermen telling them to be careful about intruding and fishing in Malaysia's territorial waters. This has encouraged Malaysia. Also, Malaysian officials view seizing Thai fishing boats as a way to supplement their incomes or make some extra money. In view of the Thai government's lack of interest in solving this problem or helping the fishermen, Malaysia has become even more aggressive.

The recent seizure of Thai fishing boats by Malaysia was the largest seizure ever. The fishermen could no longer bear this or allow Malaysia to continue

harassing them like this and so they held a demonstration to demand that the Thai government help them. They demanded that the government send warships to protect the Thai fishing boats and open negotiations with the Malaysian government in order to prevent such incidents from happening again. We feel that the government should take quick action. Otherwise, the fishermen and people in general will mistakenly think that the government is concerned only about the welfare and comfort of the powerful people in the country and that it is not concerned about solving the problems that are troubling the people.

11943/12947

CSO: 4207/189

THAILAND

REPORTAGE ON KING'S COMMENTS ON DEMOCRACY

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 19 Mar 87 pp 16-18

[Unattributed report: "Further Details on the King's Remarks, Changing the Administrative System to a National Government"]

[Excerpt] At a cabinet meeting on 3 March, Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, commented on the king's remarks on Thailand's administration. The prime minister said that on 28 February 1987, the king graciously allowed a group of newspaper reporters to accompany him on a trip to observe various projects at the Huai Hong Khrai Education and Development Center in Pa Miang Subdistrict, Doi Saket District, Chiang Mai Province, projects that were initiated by the king. He provided details and explained how the villagers will benefit from these projects.

During a break, the king graciously allowed several reporters to join him for lunch. He made a few remarks on the country's administration, saying that every country must modify the administrative system used so that it is suited to the country. The same is true in Thailand. We need to modify the system so that it fits the situation here. The prime minister asked each of the cabinet members to remember this, because it is very important. Knowledgeable people should consider what things need to be changed.

After Gen Prem's remarks to the cabinet were made public, the opposition held a meeting and discussed his remarks. Those at this meeting felt that he had acted improperly by dragging the monarchy, which is above politics, into politics. Furthermore, he used the king's remarks for the benefit of the government. The opposition's attack, which was launched on 4 March, was very strong.

The Government Responds Quickly

It should be noted that the government, particularly Gen Prem Tinsulanon, responded very quickly to this criticism by the opposition. He ordered Mr Michai Wirawaithaya, the spokesman for the Office of the Prime Minister, to issue a statement the next day (5 March). In this statement, Mr Michai said that the reason why the prime minister brought up the king's remarks at the cabinet meeting was that he felt that these remarks were of great value and that they could be useful in considering how to develop Thailand's

administrative system. Many knowledgeable people have tried to find a suitable administrative system. Also, people in general are interested in this. They want Thailand to have an administrative system that will benefit the people. These remarks of the king were of great value, just like his other remarks concerning the well-being of the people. His remarks are frequently disseminated to the people.

A high-level news source in the Government House revealed that prior to this, the king granted an audience to Gen Prem in Chiang Mai. They discussed administrative matters and the living conditions of the people. This is one reason why Gen Prem mentioned the king's remarks at the cabinet meeting that day.

Interpreting the King's Remarks

Many of the reporters who were with the king that day, some of whom joined the king for lunch, said that most of the king's remarks that day concerned the royal project at Ban Huai Hong Khrai and other royal projects to help the people in the locality. These projects have improved the living conditions of the people. At one point, he discussed the import of Western technology and ideas, saying that these must be applied in accord with Thailand's social conditions. He also discussed administration in a democracy, which is an import from the West. He said that this must be modified so that it matches Thai social conditions. We can't import a foreign system without making changes. But for the most part, the king talked about development activities based on the royal projects.

In the wake of this dispute between the government and the opposition, with each side criticizing the other about the suitability of making criticisms by referring to the king, others have tried to interpret the king's remarks, too. Everyone seems to agree that these remarks have deep meaning for the country's political and administrative development. Today, we are trying to copy democratic administrative forms based on a Western parliamentary system without making any changes in accord with the nature of Thai society. But what we need to do is change certain administrative characteristics in accord with the nature of Thai society in order to speed up development in the future.

11943/12947

CSO: 4207/189

THAILAND

CHAWALIT COMMENTS ON DEMOCRACY REVIEWED

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 16, 17 Apr 87

[Statements made by Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, to the House Affairs Subcommittee on 15 April on building democracy]

[16 Apr 87 p 3]

[Text] During the hours 0930-1200 hours on 15 April, at the invitation of the House Affairs Subcommittee, Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, came and spoke to the Subcommittee on the topic "Building Democracy." The meeting was held in Subcommittee Room 1 on the third floor of the parliament building. Gen Chawalit explained the policies and lines for developing democracy. MATICHON feels that his statements are very interesting and so we are presenting them in detail.

I would like to thank the subcommittee chairman and the members of the subcommittee, particularly the subcommittee spokesman, for inviting me to come and talk with you. I consider this to be a great honor. At the very least, it shows good intentions by having us discuss things together, which is a trait of the Thai people, who like to discuss things together instead of using violence and who like to coordinate interests. This is very admirable.

During the course of my career, I have experienced a great deal politically. At the beginning of my military career, I was not interested in very much. I thought that I was obeying the orders of my superiors. After I became a senior officer, I became more aware of things and began thinking about various things. Finally, I reached the level where I had a chance to help make decisions. Today, I feel that I have a very great political role. Regardless of the political problems that I talk about, or any of the problems that concern politics or administering the country, my main concern is the nation's security. If something does not concern the nation's security, I will not get involved. Because that is not my duty.

The national security issue that has had the greatest effect during the past 5-6 years or even since 1976 is the communist problem. When the situation in Indochina changed and the communists took power, this created great alarm in

Thailand. Why have I fought so much? In particular, there has been great concern about whether the country will be able to survive. I have fought hard about this. You probably understand. This is a crisis of confidence. It is a psychological problem.

For example, it took England 40 years. It took Thailand's King Naresuan a long time to get the Thai people over their fear of the Burmese. You probably understand this problem, the problem of confidence and trust. I have struggled against the domino theory. At that time, people had little hope left. There were so many internal and external problems at that time.

The internal problems led to a major crisis in Thailand. You probably remember the sounds of gunfire and the announcement of a revolutionary war, or political war, in 1969. I remember the period 1974 and 1975. I was already a senior officer, a divisional chief. I made a great effort to suppress this. I returned from Vietnam in 1968. On my return, I mobilized forces to suppress the communists at Hin Rong Kla in Phetchabun. We used elements of the 1st Division. Prior to that, no one had been able to use the 1st Division for combat purposes. At that time, Lt Gen Wisin (Isarangkarn Na Ayuthaya) was a special colonel. Gen Prasert Thammsiri was unhappy about the fact that I had used the 1st Division for combat purposes. Because the 1st Division was frequently involved in politics in the heart of Bangkok. I talked with Field Marshal Praphat (Charusathian), the then RIA CINC, and told him that I had to have the 1st Division to fight the communists. I used elements from the Marine Division or marine forces from Sattahip, too. The fighting was very fierce. I did not have enough forces and so I mobilized army alert forces. I put three battalions on aircraft and had them land at Lon Sak. We continued fighting. We committed thousands of troops to the fight. Losses were very heavy.

I remember the heavy losses that we suffered. One day, the son of Lt Gen Yuthasin Kasensuk, the then deputy commander of the 2d Army Region, was shot down and killed while flying a mission. I sent forces to look for him. His aircraft had hit a tree. When men became trapped, I sent in more troops to provide help. Two or three trucks were hit and the men killed. I was ordered to stop, because I constantly mobilized troops to fight. That was in Chiang Rai. The people who gave me this order were Col Han Phongsithanon and Police Maj Gen Ari Karibut. There was one other, but I can't remember who it was. They came and told me that I was making a mistake. They said that I couldn't suppress the communists like this. I thought that they were communists. I wanted to tell them that that was nonsense and that they lacked experience. I wanted to tell them that they were wrong and that they had a mistaken theory that would destroy the country. At that time, the Communist Party of Thailand [CPT] was thriving. Frankly, they won. There were junior people who misunderstood, but who had good intentions toward the country. During that period, the CPT had a great advantage over those who had good intentions and who were honest. We can sit and discuss what the mistakes were. At that time, no one understood politics. Politics was politics. Soldiers felt that they had to suppress the enemy.

Finally, I reviewed Mao Zedong's writings. I admit that I read a lot of his writings. I didn't really understand what he said. The "Strategic Retreat," the "10,000-Li March," the "Establishment of Secure Bases," and so on all

meant very little to me. I said that I understood everything. But when I read the first two books, he said that the important factor in waging a revolutionary war was waging a political offensive. Mao clearly stated what was what. He clearly said that the success of the revolution depended on the political offensive.

I reviewed things to see exactly what he meant. I discovered that we had been stupid. We had wasted the lives of fellow countrymen and the resources of the country. I discovered that there were two factors in waging a revolution, particularly a communist revolution. These can be referred to as national revolution and democratic revolution. A national revolution refers to revolution in a country that has become a slave politically, economically, or socially. In the past, this might have applied to us, because there were military bases here. This caused everyone to think that we were being dominated. This led to a decline in this region. This can also refer to multinational corporations gaining special privileges. But Thailand did not have a problem as far as a national revolution was concerned. Thus, the single remaining factor was the problem of democracy. It can be seen that the revolutions carried out by the communists, regardless of the country, have always started out as national revolutions or democratic revolutions.

Because we are discussing Thailand, I won't discuss national revolution. I will talk only about democratic revolution. That is, I will discuss what they have said and written. They use this with nondemocratic societies. Thus, our slogan, that is, the slogan of soldiers, has always been to "defeat dictatorship." Communism can defeat dictatorship, but democracy can defeat communism. I have stressed this constantly. From this point, we began to review things. I am referring to officers throughout the military, not just me. Here, I would like to say frankly that I was a young person. At that time I was special colonel. The others were colonels and lieutenant colonels. The senior officers were not interested. The situation was very bad in 1975 and 1976. We gradually developed these ideas. We discussed the idea of whether Thailand was a democracy. We decided that it wasn't. We decided that it wasn't a perfect democracy. We had various criteria for determining whether a country was a perfect democracy.

Looking at our country, we did not blame the People's Council. But wherever I went, I was somewhat sarcastic. The country was fine. But they did not begin well. They did not arrange things well. Because of this bad beginning, problems developed. I don't mean to say that they were wrong to change the administration. That's not what I mean. What I mean is that they did not hold to their principles. This was the heart of the matter from what we learned. Thus, the royal inscription on the statute in front of parliament did not become a reality. The inscription of King Rama VII clearly states that he cannot turn his power over to the people.

We tried to find out the reason. There was a series of incidents. He may have blamed the military. That's fine. There is some truth to that. Because it was soldiers who came forward each time they staged a coup, they should have mobilized the people or kept them out of sight. The soldiers bore the brunt. But let's not blame anyone. Let's stop blaming people. That was what happened. Those who did this always referred to the people. Afterwards, they

always made claims using good methods. For example, after seizing power, they used a parliamentary system of administration. People thought that this was democracy. Thus, there was great confusion.

Before returning to the subject in which you are most interested, that is, administration and my ideas for providing help, I would like to say that after that, we developed our ideas and formulated Order 66/23. You shouldn't believe everything you hear. But you can believe me. If I say anything that is not true, you can criticize me. You are free to criticize me. It won't hurt me. All these ideas are in the process of development.

If I say anything wrong, I apologize. My knowledge of political science is limited. I was awarded an honorary degree. I felt embarrassed about receiving this degree. I didn't want to be awarded this degree. But if I had refused, they would have been disappointed. And so I accepted.

First is the issue of democracy. We have to define this term clearly. Otherwise, there will be problems, with one person meaning one thing and someone else meaning something else. Second is the issue of who should create this system. We have to reach an agreement. There is also the matter of how to build the system. And once it has been built, it will have to be developed and made secure. We have to discuss how we can develop our system and make it secure. We have to discuss these things first.

First of all, I want to say that the democratic system that we all want is a Thai-style democracy. What this means is that we want a system "created by Thai for Thai" that can satisfy our needs. In an interview, Prince Narathipaphong once said that the administrative system must be a democracy with the king at the head. That goes without saying. On many occasions, I have said that the monarchy is an integral part of the country. This has been the case for hundreds of years. The monarchy is an institution that has saved the country. It governed the country by means of the Ten Moral Commandments for kings. Thus, when we talk of Thai-style administration, we are referring to having the king at the head. I can't remember the second or third points. Let's just say that what we have talked about refers to having a system that satisfies the needs of the Thai people.

Let's not forget that we are talking about a democratic form of administration that satisfies the needs of the people. Even if the form of administration is good, it if does not satisfy the people, it's of no use. For example, today, differences in incomes have improved. Exports have improved. Trade is more equal. Reserves have increased. We are proud of the fact that we are a developed country and that we are creating many jobs. And so why are people becoming poorer? Thus, it can be seen that we do not have a form of administration that serves the majority of the people. This is not the administration that we wanted.

Another thing is that this Thai-style administration must be in line with international principles. We can't go our own way completely. We can't refuse to hold to universal principles and simply go our own way. That would not work. I think that those three or four items can form the principles of a democratic system. Let's see what type of democratic system we want. It must

be a developed form of administration, or a developed administrative system of the middle class. As you probably know, the middle class came into being following the industrial revolution. Prior to that, there was no middle class. There were just the gentry and peasant classes. Many commercial activities came into being. Instead of producing goods for personal use only, goods were now produced for sale. This gave rise to the middle class, which in turn gave rise to a form of administration suited to the middle class, or the majority of the people in the country. We would like our country to have an egg-shaped class structure. That is, few at the top and few at the bottom. We don't want a pyramid-shaped structure, in which the great majority of the people are at the bottom while only a few are at the top. These are the two new forms of democratic administration. There may be a third, but I won't discuss that.

The first thing that I want to mention are universal principles and ideological principles. There must be principles to which we can cling. I also want to talk about change, or possible forms that can be seen in the history of administration. As for principles, someone wrote that sovereign power belongs to the people. If the people don't have power, don't take part in administration, and do not receive fair compensation from the country.... That is the first principle.

The second principle concerns the freedoms of the people. One is freedom of speech. There are many principles. But it must be remembered that these freedoms do not give people the right to bother others or engage in anything that might endanger the nation's security. This is very important. I can't use my personal freedom of speech to curse my parents or say things that would ruin the friendly relations with our neighbors. That is not right. In the section of the constitution that discusses personal freedoms, it says that personal freedoms cannot be allowed to have an adverse effect on national security.

[17 Apr 87 p 3]

[Text] That is the overriding principle. There must be equality. Each person enjoys the right of equality, particularly equality of opportunity, that is, the opportunity to be treated fairly by the country and the opportunity to bear the burdens equally. There are many more but I can't remember them. I apologize for not being well prepared. I have been busy because of the situation at Chong Bok. We succeeded in recapturing the area last night. We have to be prepared for a heavy counterattack. We can't build bunkers in time. For this reason, I have been very busy.

Another important principle is having an elected government. All of this is a democratic form of administration. There must be principles. Altogether, there are five or six principles. I can't remember all of them. But the sovereignty of the people is the most important. The other ideologies have these, too. Everyone talks about freedoms. That is true in Moscow and Beijing. They are all elected governments. But the type of election to which I am referring is a democratic election, that is, free vote or one man-one vote, not forced voting. This must be understood. Thus, it is clear that the most important principle is the sovereignty of the people. If the situation is bad or the country is at war and the government's term expires, it isn't necessary to

hold an election. But the sovereign power of the people must remain paramount. The election must wait. The war comes first.

Another thing is the form. I have looked at the forms used since 1932. I think that we can boast about what we have. Our administrative forms are similar to those used elsewhere in the world. There are two or three forms. One is referred to as the parliamentary system. That is, parliament, or the MPs, are on top. That is, legislative power is on top. We call this a joint power system. MPs are elected to represent the people. They then elect or appoint a cabinet to govern the country in cooperation with parliament. We have used this system since 1932. Another form is referred to as balanced executive-legislative power. This is called the presidential system. The president is the main institution. As a result, those who talk about a system in which there is a separation of powers are criticized and charged with wanting to replace the monarchy with a presidential system. But that is not feasible here. If we use a system in which there is a separation of powers, the monarchy must maintain its position.

Another thing that used to be a problem was that there were frequent changes of government. Sometimes, there were two changes a year. People viewed this as designing a system in which there is a separation of powers, or presidential system. People have wondered why there has been so much confusion here. I have been pressed to speak, too. I would like to exonerate myself here. I have not had evil intentions. I am very close friends with MPs, particularly with the leaders of the political parties. I was speaking like a friend. Maybe that was wrong. Everyone can make a mistake. We must correct these. But we have to know who is being frank and who isn't. People must speak frankly and clearly. But that is in the past. I have apologised to everyone.

Today, everyone is wondering why there is so much turmoil, particularly in vying for ministerial positions. There will be great disorder if there is a quota system. As we all know, this can lead to much trouble. Some feel that this can't go on and that we should use a system calling for a separation of powers or partial separation of powers. We must be very careful. Others say that today, the country is already separated. That is bad and this is bad. Some say that things are fine; others say that things are terrible. Some say that to solve the country's problems, it is necessary to use resolute administrative power, but not violence. Some people construe this to mean that we must act like Field Marshal Sarit. But this is something else entirely. This is a problem of principles. We have to forge mutual understanding. Otherwise.... I would like to speak frankly. We must be careful about those who want to make changes by revising the constitution and separating administrative power from legislative power. Why? Because of the problems about the democratic system. There are many issues, but I have discussed only two or three of these, that is, forms and principles. Most important is the issue of principles.

The next issue is, who is going to build the system? I talk about this everywhere I go. But I usually don't go into such detail. The democratic system of government is a system of government by the people. I use the word people because this refers to the majority. That does not mean that we will abandon or eliminate the minority. But we are talking about the majority. The

democratic system of government is a system of the majority. For this reason, it is the people who must build democracy. It belongs to them, and so if they don't build it, who will? This is a principle of mine. To be perfectly clear about who is to build this, I think that the political parties, which are the representatives of the people, must be the ones to do this. Put another way, the parties with a democratic line must be the ones to build democracy. Clearly, it is the political parties that must do this. The political parties must be helped and nurtured. We will try to improve things and provide help. The political parties to which I am referring are the representatives of the people. It is the democratic parties that build. If we allow other parties to build, if we allow the communist party to build the system, it won't build a democratic system. It will build a communist system. This is what I want to tell people. We have to be careful.

People are asking what these others will do and what the military will do. There must be cooperation and unity. Today, some people are very narrowminded. They view all soldiers are evil. Some soldiers view all the political parties as evil. But that is not true. I am trying to build solidarity without divisions based on color, occupation, economic position, or anything else, except democratic ideas. Unless we get rid of this idea and stop dividing people this way, we will not achieve success. Believe me. Unless you can build a large movement by gathering together people who have similar ideas and feelings and who are intent on working for the majority and for the country, you will not succeed. If you focus on criticizing this or that person and fighting among yourselves, there will just be confusion. This is the truth.

I think that the country will make good progress if the people are the builders. There are two factions that must join hands and move forward together. I am referring to the political parties and the state organizations. That includes organizations at all echelons. They must all move forward together. It will be impossible to build the country if these two factions don't work together. The good political parties that are democratic have to work with a huge bureaucracy. I am trying to streamline the bureaucracy. I am trying to provide ideas. This is the most important thing. We must cooperate with each other. Only if we help each other will we be able to reach our goals. Thus, I would like to suggest that the most important thing is to cooperate and work together in developing the bureaucracy. There are many things about this bureaucracy that need to be changed. For example, when I went to Singburi to inquire about the forest problems there, they said that there weren't any problems. Our country is very strange in certain ways, particularly concerning the law. We will govern the country within the framework of laws that have been revised. Some of the laws have been in use since 1857! This is the second point.

The third point is what method to use to build [democracy]. I have been criticized about my knowledge. I have a theoretical framework that may or may not be correct. My idea is that there is only one way to build democracy and that is to have a revolution. Only through a revolution can we build democracy. This is repugnant to most people. Most people are afraid of this. We must have principles. I may be wrong. But we all know that to build something, you first have to destroy something. Abandoning evil and praying go hand in hand. We have to eliminate the defilements. If you are building

something, you can't be indifferent. You have to destroy, too. When we grow rice, we have to apply fertilizer. At the same time, we have to use insecticides, which is destruction. If we want to build democracy, we have to kill, or destroy dictatorship. The present situation must be changed. We do not have a perfect democracy. We say that we have half democracy and half parliamentary dictatorship. This must be eliminated completely. This is what I mean by revolution.

If others want to use a different word, that is fine. But I prefer the word "revolution" in order to prevent people from misunderstanding. I am not trying to create a sensation. I just want people to understand. This has nothing to do with a coup d'etat. A coup is an evil way of seizing power. But after you seize power this way, there is nothing you can do. And once you seize power, you have to establish your position in order to tighten your grip on dictatorial power. I want everyone to understand what I mean by revolution. I have said that this must be done in conjunction with the people or political parties. As can be seen from what I said about how to accomplish this, in carrying out a democratic revolution, we must rise up together. I have said that I will launch a revolution. I will use the sovereign power of the people. The impossible will be made possible. You have talked about what is bad, about the political party laws, and about elections. You have complained about the fact that the number of candidates fielded must exceed half the number of MPs and that each candidate can spend only 350,000 baht. You have said that this destroys the rights and freedoms of the people. Let's change this. Let's change whatever is bad and eliminate those things that are oppressing the people. This is a revolution. There is no need to worry about having to use force. We have power. We are in the system. The military is on your side. We are the same. There is no need to worry about our using violence or seizing people. We have power. The important thing is that we must not argue with each other. We must help each other. We must work together to resolve our differences.

I think that the most important thing is that once we have built [democracy], we must take steps to establish it firmly. If we have a good political party system from the very beginning and a good state apparatus, we can do a good job. The constitution must reflect the wishes of the people. The picture that I have painted may contain some flaws. One of the things that I have talked about is the military. I want to stress that soldiers are just like you. They think the same way as you. Soldiers are trying to find ways to advance democracy and build democracy. This is because democracy affects security directly. I am referring to the communist problem. The military will support democracy fully. It will not do anything to destroy democracy. It is important to separate what is important from what is not important. We must not become bogged down in minor matters. We must look at the heart of the military, which has matured, which has democratic ideas, and which is trying to build. This is the nature of the military. You shouldn't worry. I'm sure you don't want soldiers to sit by idly. But you want them to be disciplined. Without discipline, there will be too many internal conflicts. This is how I feel.

The other thing that I stressed was the meaning of democracy, who is to build democracy, and how it is to be established. I think that the important thing is the economy. The country has a clear policy. We implemented the fourth,

fifth and sixth development plans. But things should be written very simply. I think that in the next 5 years, our country will have clear targets. We must make advances on all fronts. Regardless of whether it is the arts, administration, or the military, there must be security. Why did I say that the northeast must be turned green within 5 years? That is something that I said at the very beginning. I said that I would suppress the communists within 5 years. In 1982 I thought that this had been completed. I talked about confidence. Everyone must be prepared to fight. This is very important. Because the ultimate combat front is in the heart. The heart is important, and you must have reasons. I have tried to boost people's morale. If the people in the northeast are resolute, or if the people in the south take resolute action on digging a canal across the Kra Isthmus.... But so far, an effort has not been made. The MPs from the northeast must fight on behalf of the northeast. They have not established a group. Today, I am trying to collect 23 million baht to build a dam. I will take this out of the military's budget. I will slash the army's budget. The prime minister has told me to go ahead. This shows a real desire.

Within the next 5 years, I would like to see our country become a great power in the fields of agriculture and agricultural industry. This is what I would like to do. This is within the framework of the government and the people in general. I must stop here even though I have not said half of what I would like to say. Thank you.

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CSO: 4207/198

GENERAL CHAWALIT FAMILY TREE PUBLISHED SHOWING ROYAL LINKS

[Editorial Report] The 20-26 May 1986 issue of KHAO PHISIT, a Bangkok-published Thai vernacular weekly, carries a 3,000 word article on Army Commander General Chawalit Yongchaiyut's ancestors. The article, replete with diagrams, shows the Yongchaiyut family firmly linked to the (presently ruling) Chakri dynasty for at least the last 100 years. The article ends with the statement that no member of the Yongchaiyut family could ever be less than totally loyal to a Thai monarch due to such strong links to the royal family since time immemorial. A similar but shorter article, was published in another Thai vernacular weekly magazine shortly after General Chawalit assumed his post as Army commander in 1986.

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CSO: 4207/223

FIRST ARMY CHIEF CONDEMNS PREM'S CRITICS

Bangkok SIAM RAY in Thai 25 Apr 87 pp 1, 16

[Unattributed report: "1st Army Region Commander Angry at Those Who Criticized Prem in Front of Parliament; Said 'Criticize Me and I Will Strike Back Immediately'"]

[Excerpt] The 1st Army Region Commander is angry at those who criticized the prime minister in front of Parliament. "If they criticize me, I will strike back immediately." He said that motions fail all the time. Everything was done in accord with the law. Big George stressed that measures will be taken to prevent disorder. He confirmed that the military will not interfere in politics or business. Prachuap has denied the rumors that the Ministry of Interior requested evidence from parliament in order to arrest those who criticized the prime minister. Chuan has ordered the secretary general of parliament to review the measures for checking those entering and leaving the parliament building.

On the morning of 24 April at parliament, Lt Gen Wattanachai Wutisiri, the 1st Army Region commander, talked with reporters about MPs withdrawing their names from the motion to hold a no-confidence debate against the entire cabinet, which resulted in the failure of this motion. He said that this is normal in a democracy. There are no serious problems. Even though the motion failed, the opposition parties can submit a new motion. There is always a tomorrow. Everything was done in accord with the law. There is lobbying in all democratic countries.

Lt Gen Wattanachai also talked about those who cursed Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, on 22 April. He said that things were done in accord with the law and so they had no right to curse the prime minister. He had nothing to do with that. It's a shame that they cursed someone who has been given the honor of serving as the country's prime minister.

"If they curse me, I will strike back immediately. If they do that to me, my aides will hit back," said Lt Gen Wattanachai. He said that if people keep criticizing each other, the country will be in turmoil constantly. However, the prime minister has said that the incident should be forgotten.

Lt Gen Wattanachai said that maintaining security around parliament is the duty of the parliament police. He can't send in troops to maintain security. A

reporter said that there are rumors that he was one of those who lobbied the MPs to withdraw their names from the motion. Lt Gen Wattanachai replied that he is frequently the subject of such rumors because of his position as commander of the 1st Army Region. "The 1st Army Region is based in Bangkok. Whenever something happens, I get the blame. The fact that they say that I was involved does not bother me."

Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, was interviewed by reporters at parliament after the Senate meeting about the army's statement that this was done in order to prevent people from using the name of the army. "Otherwise, others would use our name."

Gen Sunthon Khongsomphon, the assistant RTA CINC, said that this statement was issued because of the attacks made on the RTA CINC and military. Thus, the RTA CINC issued this statement so that the people will understand. He said that he does not think that anything will happen. "We are trying to keep things under control. As I have said, we don't want any trouble to develop. It would be good if people toned down their rhetoric."

There have been rumors that Gen Sunthon met with an MP at the Ambassador Hotel prior to the meeting to discuss the no-confidence debate. Concerning this, Gen Sunthon said that that was just a chance meeting. He had gone there to eat with the owner of the hotel. When he went to the restroom, he met an old friend. He was not involved in any way. As for his relations with Col Phon Roengprasoeetwit, the chief advisor to the United Democracy Party, he said that they once served together. They served as aides together.

As for the charge that the military is interfering in politics, the assistant RTA CINC said that he has many friends, including politicians and businessmen. But he has not interfered in the activities of anyone.

The reporter asked him his views on people shouting curses at the prime minister in front of parliament. Gen Sunthon replied that that was very impolite. As a former soldier, Gen Prem did not respond. But if this is allowed to continue, this could get out of hand. The important question is, who was behind this? People in general would not dare display such bad manners. "We are trying to remain calm and not retaliate. The statement that was issued states our position."

The reporter asked whether this statement was issued suddenly. Gen Sunthon said that it was issued after people began making stupid and impolite statements. The statement was issued in order to inform the people of the intentions of the RTA CINC and army.

As for investigating the incident involving the thahan phran irregulars, the assistant RTA CINC said that he is not directly involved. Thus, he doesn't know much about this. But based on military regulations, they can be given a warning or put on probation. They did not commit a serious violation.

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CSO: 4207/204

ACADEMICS, COMMENTATORS CRITIQUE ARMY, POLITICIANS

Samphan Paenphat Challenges Chawalit

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 21 Feb 87 p 6

[Text] If viewed with impartiality, most of the military today want political development to run its course, without a delay. This is because historical events have found that whenever the military takes over political power, be it by means of a coup d'etat or a reform or for whatever reason, they were never able, time after time, to lead the country to modernization, and only a few leaders have benefited.

Yet, political power continues to be the thing that certain groups of military officers are constantly seeking. They try to find a political role in the government, by any means available, because they hold on to the belief that the military institution is a great institution; no institution dares to confront it directly; because it has forces and weapons, as well as radio stations that can readily make or break any individual. So strong are these beliefs that certain military officers explicitly stated that no outsiders should interfere with the military affairs, while the military can interfere with the affairs of other people.

The view of the current commander in chief of the army, who has been invited to give a talk on "Politics From the Military Standpoint" in Chiang Mai, has alluded to political parties, and stated that they were like business companies and that members of parliament were traders seeking gain for their own groups, not for the public. That seemed too strong a statement. At least, he should distinguish which kinds of traders destroy the nation, and how they destroy it, so that the public would have a clearer picture.

He should not make an across-the-board statement like that, so that other groups of traders or other groups of politicians who have nothing to do with trading are discouraged and disheartened in their work.

They must not forget that it is not the military alone who love the nation the most; people in other professions also love the nation. It is simply that their statements are not as loud.

The statements made by the commander in chief of the army may be talked about in many ways. He should at least make clear in what capacity he made such statements.

If he made the statements in his capacity as a citizen, then it is a good thing, a good thing in that it came from the people. And the statements would make the people see that it is the duty of the people throughout the country to elect a decent, capable person, who would protect the interest of the people. This view then must be raised in the next election campaign, so that we know who is decent and who is not. This is to enable us to elect good people to run the country. Any person who gets involved in politics only for his own gains, or for the protection of his business should be eliminated. And the commander in chief, in his capacity as a citizen, with a great number of followers, would certainly be able to instruct them to elect good people.

And the assurance that "the military have as much knowledge about politics as any other group" serves to insure that the commander in chief knows who should be the representative of the people, and who should not. So in the next elections, we may have hope that we will get good MP's who truly represent the people, and there will not be this kind of accusation against politicians again. If he expressed his view in his capacity as commander in chief, which in the bureaucratic system is equal to a director-general of a department, then is it proper for one bureaucrat to criticize politicians, some of whom are his superiors? We leave it to the commander in chief to ponder whether an event like this should be allowed to repeat itself. Because no good effect to the political or governmental system could result.

Most important of all, each time he makes a statement, does he know how much damage it does to the nation's economy?

Army, Politicians Undemocratic

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 10 Mar 87 p 7

[Text] In a recent verbal confrontation between the commander in chief of the army and civilian politicians, it seemed that the former scored more points. This is because the issue which the commander in chief of the army raised for criticism--that most of the politicians are businessmen bent on seeking their own gains rather than protecting the interest of the public as a whole--is a very obvious one. It is one which the more informed members of the public or those who are politically alert can see very clearly.

Another factor is also in the military's favor, that is, the military have no direct political accountability. Rather, they operate behind the political scene. And although the military control the majority in the Senate, that fact does not make the people feel that the military are politically accountable, while the MP's or the ministers and the prime minister are. And so those who do not have direct political accountability are in a good position to call themselves outsiders and criticize others glibly. But the reality is that the military are part of the government, part of the existing political system.

It may be true that during the past 10 years, the military may have chosen to abide by the Constitution more and more; that Constitution, in fact, has been partially written and pushed by the military. So, it is a Constitution

that provides for the interests of military officers and many elite groups. The existing political system is also favorable to the military for yet another reason--not only have military officers been appointed senators, they have also been given the control of state enterprises, radio stations, and television stations. Furthermore, they have been given large annual budgets. Although they do not appear corrupt, and are not as seemingly guilty of extortion as the police or some government agencies, they receive good benefits and compensation.

In reality, the military all along have had a role and influence in politics. Particularly, military leaders have been given support in becoming prime minister, minister of defense; this is different from a developed democracy, in which the prime minister comes from a political party, and the minister of defense is often a civilian with greater power than the commander in chief of the army. This is because in a democracy, the military officers are government bureaucrats, just like civilian government bureaucrats.

In general terms, then, the military in developing countries, including Thailand, are not democratic, and to some extent are holding back the development of democracy, because the military still belong to the privileged class that is used to the use of power, the use of their support, and the privilege with regard to the budget--and this budget is then controlled independently by the military without outside auditing. They are used to getting favors with regard to state enterprises, and providing protection to and facilitation for the benefits of traders and businessmen, using their power and the authority of their positions. This is demonstrated by the fact that there are many rich generals and colonels. Just their salaries would not make them so rich.

The businessmen's role in holding back democracy is even clearer than that of the military; particularly, the businessmen who get involved in politics by running for a parliamentary seat or by getting appointed minister or deputy minister--it is even clearer that they try to use their political position to economically benefit themselves or their friends. Or if they do not use it for their own economic gain, they would use it for their own political gain. This is because the spirit and nature of a businessman is to compete for maximum profits or for the greater benefits.

But it is not only the politicians who were previously businessmen that are thus inclined. Politicians who were not previously businessmen, too--once they hold positions of political power--often used their position or the power of their position to seek economic gains, both in terms of tangible materials and in terms of building a foundation for their future rise in politics.

Therefore, generally, under the existing system, both the military and the politicians, be they businessmen or not, are not democratic and are not mindful of the interest of the majority of the people but, rather, of their own. But politics is like hawking a certain kind of product. In order to sell something, there has to be advertising that is exaggerated beyond the truth, or even a lie or a deception. So, both the military and the politicians have to advertise themselves as being patriotic, democratic-minded, and loving the majority of the people more than anybody else.

Some of them are clever enough to know that the loud noise of advertising is not effective with educated people, or those more politically alert. So, they resorted to a method of publicity that categorizes people into groups, that is, there are rich military officers, there is corruption, there are good military officers with ideology, there are politicians who seek their own gains, there are politicians who are mindful of the public interest. But they all would say that they are on the side of the good guy and have ideological principles. The rest are on the side of the bad guys.

Politics is a compromise of interests of a variety of groups. We cannot afford to be dreamy about when the military or the politicians or the businessmen would stop thinking only of their own gains and stop feuding, and turn to join hands with one another in building the nation. This is primarily because individuals would naturally bargain for their own interests or bargain for the interests of their friends and groups. The problem here is that these groups of people have too much bargaining power, while the common people like farmers, workers, low-ranking government officials, traders, retail female merchants have too little bargaining power.

The solution is to build up the bargaining power of the various groups so that there is balance; this is the kind of change that would lead to a more democratic system, not the building up of power of a group or faction so that it can bring about revolutionary changes, with the people being unable to truly control the revolutionary party.

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CARTOON LAMPOONS THACH, SITTHI ON CAMBODIA FIGHTING

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 28 May 87 p 16

[Cartoon]



SITTHI MAY QUIT OVER COPYRIGHT ISSUE

BK300533 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 30 May 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila has hinted that he may leave the government if Parliament rejects the amendment to the Copyright Act, a well-informed source said yesterday.

ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi was very disappointed with what he called "a total lack of coordination and understanding" among the coalition parties--specifically the Democrat Party--over the copyright issue, the source said.

The minister felt that the Democrats were turning it into a political issue for their own benefit, the source said.

ACM Sitthi yesterday told a meeting of government officials from agencies with overseas offices that he was ready to leave the Foreign Ministry "at anything if I am wrong (on the copyright issue)."

He said the copyright issue was of national importance "but some people have made use of it for political purposes."

The minister said the copyright amendment had become a political issue because of a lack of cooperation among the coalition among the coalition partners and because of misunderstanding of the issue on the part of the public.

"If there is no coordination, no understanding especially among the coalition parties, no unity and no sympathy with one another, how can the coalition stay together?" he asked.

"I speak as a gentleman. I am responsible," said ACM Sitthi, adding that the Foreign Ministry had been trying all along to clarify the copyright issue and its implications, especially in connection with the GSP privileges. "Yet I feel I, alone, was subjected to criticism," he said.

"The press criticised me, the Opposition and the academics disagreed with the amendment," he said.

Despite all the explanations by Foreign Ministry officials, he said, "people refuse to listen because their minds are set against it."

That was why he recalled Ambassador Asa Sarasin from Washington to clarify the issue, he said.

ACM Sitthi warned that if Thailand refused to amend the Copyright Act as agreed by the Cabinet, the United States might take retaliatory measures against exports of Thai tuna, textiles, or steel pipes as the United States did with South Korea.

If that happened, he said, industries in Thailand would be hard hit "and, again, the Foreign Ministry will be blamed for inefficiency and for failing to protect Thailand's interests."

He said that even U.S. President Ronald Reagan could not respond to Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's request that the tax increases imposed on certain Japanese goods in the U.S. market be reduced or lifted.

"The United States is a big country, but we are a small country," he said. "So how can we retaliate?"

ACM Sitthi said that he was speaking in his capacity as foreign minister and that he would not avoid responsibility "whatever happens."

"People have accused me of lying, which is untrue. All through my life, I have never lied once," he said, adding that such allegations against him were inflammatory.

"I play politics, but I am not a politician--not a good politician or even a bad one. But I will fight on with honesty," he said.

The minister then called on all parties concerned to try to inform the public about the copyright issue.

Voicing her support for the copyright amendment, Foreign Trade Department Chief Mrs Oranut Osathanon said the United States was an important export market for Thai products.

She maintained that the GSP had been playing a key role in encouraging Thai exports to the United States.

She said the value of GSP exports had increased from U.S.\$15.13 million in 1976 to \$351.12 million last year, accounting for 22.24 percent of total exports to the United States.

"This indicates the United States is a fast growing market for Thai products," she said.

She added that exports to the United States alone accounted for 18 percent of Thailand's worldwide exports.

"Why shouldn't we keep the GSP?" she asked.

Mrs Oranut said Thailand had been enjoying the GSP privileges for the past 11 years and would do so for the next 8 and 1/2 years, depending on the country's economic progress and performance, "especially as regards the protection of U.S. intellectual property rights."

She said that for the past 11 years, only 13 items of Thai products had been delisted from the GSP.

Most Thai products to the U.S. market were manufactured by medium and small industries which together employed a large number of people, Mrs Oranut said.

"Are we ready for a trade war with the United States? And do we have enough bargaining power?" she asked.

"Some people may suggest that the Commerce Ministry explore new markets. I'd like to ask: Can we sell in African markets?"

Economic Department Chief Danai Dulalampha said that several U.S. congressional delegations visiting Thailand since 1985 had been demanding Thailand amend the law to provide better protection for U.S. intellectual property rights.

He said the government had been delaying until the right moment to make the amendment when the United States announced that it would review the GSP privileges granted to Thailand.

Mr Danai said no one raised any objection when the copyright amendment was proposed around the middle of last year.

He said Thailand had not completely bowed to U.S. pressure on every issue. The Foreign Ministry had resisted U.S. pressure on seven other issues, he said.

"Please believe me. I am one of the negotiators. I love this country. I am definitely not a traitor," Mr Danai said.

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CSO: 4200/614

STUDENTS CHARGE SITTHI 'MISINFORMED PUBLIC'

BK290003 Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 29 May 87 p 3

[Text] Foreign Minister ACM [Air Chief Marshal] Sitthi Sawetsila has promised the United States copyright protection for computer software without telling the public, the Students Federation of Thailand said yesterday.

Federation Secretary-General Apichat Khamdet said software is intellectual property, and according to Commerce Ministry document, it would receive copyright protection.

Mr Khamdet said the foreign minister had been saying software would not be covered by the government amendment of the 1978 Copyright Act.

ACM Sitthi, he said, had promised the United States copyright protection for software and then tried to rush the amendment bill through the Cabinet, which was also unaware the bill would be presented to it.

"Can ACM Sitthi deny that when he proposed the bill to the Cabinet the matter was not put on the meeting agenda beforehand?" Mr Apichat said.

"The other ministers thus were not prepared and did not have enough information about the effects of the amendment."

The student leader said ACM Sitthi had misinformed the public by saying Thai textile exports to the United States would be hit if the copyright law was not amended. Textiles are not on the Generalised System of Preferences of Thai exports to the United States, he said, and they were already up against stiff barriers in the United States.

Mr Aprichat said the foreign minister had not listened to the opinions of other groups in society that have been pointing out the disadvantages to Thailand of the amendment.

ACM Sitthi will, however, this week meet student representatives, who will also attend committee meetings of both Houses today to urge MPs to listen to expert advice and start moves in their parties against the amendment.

Ambassador to Washington Asa Sarasin, who was recalled by ACM Sitthi to explain the issue, is scheduled to appear before the Cabinet next Tuesday to clarify

the benefits from GSP and the repercussions that can be expected if the amendment fails.

Mr Asa will also appear in a TV show with Economics Department Director Danai Tullalumbha, Foreign Trade Department Director Oranut Osathanon and Commerce Permanent Secretary Phatchara Itsarasena.

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CSO: 4200/614

NAEO NA EDITORIAL SUPPORTS COPYRIGHT AMENDMENT

BK311010 Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 30 May 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Go Ahead With the Copyright Amendment"]

[Text] On 1 June the United States will review Thailand's position related to the Generalized System of Preferences [GSP] according to requests by the Industries Association, the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, and the International Intellectual Property Alliance. This is a follow-up of President Reagan's instruction based on the government's decision of 2 January for a review of GSP lists as many countries still have not reported to the United States about the progress made in property protection.

Thailand has benefited greatly from the GSP privileges. Its small and medium-sized industries have been able to compete in the U.S. markets. Thailand last year exported 9 billion baht worth of goods to the United States under the GSP program, or an annual increase of 40 percent. There is, therefore, no reason for Thailand to renounce such benefits and empty look towards opening markets elsewhere.

We agree that Thailand should be self-reliant in trade relations with other countries because it is difficult to depend on help from others. Yet, it would be ridiculous to reject GSP benefits just to follow that rule. Those calling on Thailand to think of its honor and not to bow to U.S. demands are not very intelligent and may cause the country a serious loss in the long run.

At a seminar last week, John Lyle, an official of the U.S. Embassy in Thailand, confirmed that the United States is not only looking for copyright protection of literary and artistic works, but also of other material including computer programs and drug patents. We must heed such a U.S. warning.

If we do not make a concession to the U.S. demands over protection of artistic and literary works, the United States may revoke GSP privileges or establish tariff barriers under Article 301 barring Thai goods into the country. If we agree on the amendment of our copyright law to give protection to U.S. artistic and literary works, this may appease the United States to a certain level enabling us to bide our time.

We must think about the possible long-term effects from our anti-American movement. In defending our cause, we must not allow emotion, rashness, and excessive nationalism to overpower our good judgment. We must especially avoid using harsh and abusive language in dealing with this matter.

COLUMNIST VOWS TO REMEMBER SUPPORTERS OF AMENDMENT

BK011234 Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 1 Jun 87 p 6

[Chai Ponchat column: "The Copyright Act: Is the Foreign Ministry Serving Thailand or Any Other Country?"]

[Excerpts] Whether Thailand should amend its Copyright Act to protect U.S. intellectual property or not has now become a political issue of discussion everywhere.

M.R. Khukrit Pramot said that if the government fails to push this issue through the parliament, it will have to resign because the amendment of the law is proposed by the Social Action Party, whose leader is concurrently serving as the foreign minister. The Social Action Party itself will leave the coalition if the amendment is rejected by the parliament.

M.R. Khukrit pointed out that this government is due to collapse because the Democrat Party, the major partner in the coalition, does not agree with the Social Action Party's idea. As everyone knows, Thai politics are Thai politics. Whatever has happened does not seem to have bothered the Democrat and Social Action Parties or Prime Minister General Prem. They are all fine.

The copyright protection controversy has become a big issue and appears in all newspapers daily. However, the government might regard it as a small matter because it has never paid any attention to what the people think or say.

The government, in particular the Foreign Ministry, only talks about the bright side of things.

The people now wonder whom and which country the Foreign Ministry is serving?

The foreign minister will know what the general public thinks about this matter if only he has the courage to open his eyes and ears and read Thai-language newspapers. He does not need to have Dr Niyom Purakham [director of the National Statistics Office] conduct another public opinion survey on this issue.

The role that the Foreign Ministry has been playing seems to have "deviated" from the text book on diplomacy which says that it must defend the people's interests in dealing with other foreign countries.

During the Vietnam War, it was the Foreign Ministry that helped provide all conveniences for the U.S. Government in the latter's contact with the Thai Government for the setting up of the U.S. military bases in Thailand. However, history tells us that the Americans have never attached any significance to this ministry. Most of the contacts were made at the government level or with the Defense Ministry, not the Foreign Ministry.

Whenever the relations between Thailand and the United States slip off the right track, such as in the Copyright Act case, the Foreign Ministry simply says: "We cannot do anything. We have to surrender."

The copyright protection law in fact facilitates the big nations' effort to fence in small countries from modern technology and knowledge so that the latter will have to depend on them. The struggle in this regard is also the struggle for independence.

At any event, Minister Sitthi should not forget that he was elected by the Thai people. He is a representative of the people in Bangkok, Thailand. We should not daydream that he is a U.S. congressman assigned to run the Foreign Ministry for the United States.

I believe that the United States will never select such a person to administer any of its agencies. Besides his ability to surrender, nobody knows if he is capable of doing anything useful for future generations.

I must conclude by saying that to bow to U.S. pressure regarding the copyright protection is tantamount to selling our independence to the United States. The United States should have signed a multilateral, not bilateral, agreement [with the countries it seeks protection for its intellectual property]. We will remember the politicians and political parties that vote for the draft bill on the amendment to the Copyright Act. We will not support them in the future.

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CSO: 4200/614

MOTION SUBMITTED ON ALLEGED MINISTRY ABUSE OF POWER

BK310928 Bangkok NAO NA in Thai 30 May 87 pp 1, 16

[Text] On 29 May at the National Assembly, Piyarat Watcharaphon, Ruam Thai Party secretary general and MP for Sisaket, submitted an urgent motion to the House of Representatives seeking clarification from the government on alleged abuse [of] power by the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Thailand.

The motion, jointly supported by leaders of 4 opposition parties and 1 group, charges that the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Thailand have failed to supervise the operations of commercial banks and financial institutes closely enough, which consequently pushed the Sayam Bank, First Bangkok City Bank, Siam City Bank, and 25 financial companies to the verge of bankruptcy. As a result, the Bank of Thailand and the Finance Ministry sent their officials to take over their operations.

The two government agencies have conspired and abused their power by using national money to help those banks and financial companies. They granted loans of 15,000 million baht at only 0.1 to 1 percent annual interest to those ailing financial firms and then allowed them to use the loans to buy government bonds from the Finance Ministry and some from the Bank of Thailand with a yearly return of 11 to 12.75 percent.

"As a result, the accomplices have gained benefit from the difference in the interest rates of 10 to 11.75 percent. The government lost at least 3,524 million baht in the process during the past 2 years." The motion says that such behavior of the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Thailand has caused serious damage and is a challenge to the laws of the country. It calls on the House of Representatives to consider this problem by asking the government to explain the issue, to stop such practices and to take action against those who have damaged the country.

Prachakon Thai Party leader Samak Suntharawat told reporters later that Prime Minister General Prem Tinsulanon and former Finance Minister Somchai Huntrakun, who was in charge of the problem solving process for the commercial banks and financial institutes, must jointly take responsibility for the consequences.

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CSO: 4200/614

BUNCHU PARTY FINANCIAL FIGURE PROFILED

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 25 Apr 87 pp 1, 16

[Unattributed report: "Getting Acquainted With "Sia Leng"]

[Text] Everyone is talking about "Sia Leng," or Charoen Phatdamrongchit. He is known in political circles as a person who has played a very important role with respect to Community Action Party MPs from the northeast.

On the morning of 22 April, just as Mr Bunchu Rotchanasathian, the leader of the Community Action Party [CAP], was saying that the motion to hold a no-confidence debate on the government would not be withdrawn, five members of the CAP sent a letter to the Speaker of the House asking to withdraw their names from this motion. The five CAP MPs were:

1. Mr Suthat Sirattanaphan, and MP from Khon Kaen, the area of influence of "Sia Leng."
2. Mr Wiang Worachet, an MP from Roi Et.
3. Miss Unruan Ari-ua, an MP from Roi Et.
4. Mr Chachonsak Sisawat, an MP from Roi Et.
5. Mr Aron Phumhirayaphrun, an MP from Uttaradit.

Who is Sia Leng? How large a role does he play in the CAP? Many people would like to know the answers to these questions.

"I like Mr Bunchu Rotchanasathian very much. We see each other frequently. We have been together for 6 or 7 years now. He asked me to provide help," said Sia Leng in an interview with SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN at the end of last year during the by-election in Khon Kaen.

"I met him when he was the deputy prime minister. After he resigned, we met each other frequently after he went to work at the Black Building and then became chairman of the Siam Metropolitan Bank. We kept in close touch. During the by-election in Roi Et, which was contested by Gen Kriangsak Chananan and Police Lt Col Bunloet Loetpricha, Mr Bunchu went with MR [royal title--FRIS] Khukrit. That is when I met him. We have kept in touch ever since. During the

last election, he asked my advice on which people would join us. But an agreement couldn't be reached on the policy. Mr Narong (Narong Worwan) was supposed to join, but he didn't. Mr Buntheng was undecided. In the end, he remained independent. He once said that in the end, there would probably be just the two of us. I said that I would take responsibility for the northeast. I went and tried to find candidates. I said that we would probably win five or six seats in Khon Kaen and Roi Et. Mr Prasit Narongdet was responsible for Ubon Ratchathani. Only one won there. Five won in my zone."

Sia Leng was born in Nakhon Ratchasima Province, but he moved to Khon Kaen Province in 1953. He worked for others for 5 or 6 years and then traveled here and there. When he was 34 he established a factory to buy and dry potatoes. He also began purchasing other upland field crops. Today, he owns rice mills, flour mills, cassava fields, and a forest of eucalyptus trees. He also operates an upland field crops export company in Bangkok. Thus, it can be said that Sia Leng is a businessman who has achieved success in several fields in Khon Kaen Province and the northeast. Or he can be called a national-level businessman.

As for why he has been so successful, Sia Leng once said that "I have much experience. I have been a merchant since I was a child. Working as an employee was like being a merchant. I gained several years of experience from trading. Besides this, I studied things and read the newspapers avidly. I gradually learned what to do and what not to do. Because before you do anything, you should also think about the long term. Before you invest in something, you have to think about the long-term results. For example, rollerskating rinks were popular for a short time. But the long term is very important. My rice mills will never go out of business, because people eat rice their entire life. I established flour mills, because I saw that flour is used throughout the world. It can be used for many things. As for my potato drying yards, this is a type of fodder that is in common use. If people don't buy the potatoes, we use the fresh potatoes to produce flour. I have locations to pick up the potatoes. Similarly, I have afforested 2-3,000 rai of land. Some people may wonder why I grow trees. I feel that the forests are gradually being destroyed. And so I have planted several thousand rai in eucalyptus trees. This is a form of savings, because the trees will grow larger and larger. They are like money in the bank. When the trees mature, they will restore the land.

"I rely on experience. Things were difficult at first. Today, I rely on credit. Actually, I don't have much cash. I rely on credit from the commercial banks. They trust me because I have always had a very good credit rating. I feel very strongly about this. My father taught me to never do anything to hurt my credit rating. And you have to associate with others. You associate with good people and stay away from the bad. But you don't have to get in arguments. You just don't greet them when you meet them or you stay away from each other for awhile. Trade enemies who are jealous of us are important enemies. They might try to frame us and ruin our business. Such people are dangerous enemies. Those who fail and who become jealous of our success, those are the evil ones."

Sia Leng has been interested in politics for about 5-6 years now. Some have called him the shadow leader of the CAP. When he heard this, he laughed and said, "I provide help in the northeast."

Sia Leng was mentioned frequently during the period when people talked about whether CAP MPs would withdraw their names from the motion to hold a no-confidence debate on the government. And five MPs did withdraw their names. The CAP has passed a resolution to expel these five MPs from the party. Thus, these five people are no longer MPs.

It still isn't known whether this has affected relations between Bunchu Rotchanasathian and Sia Leng. But what is certain is that in the coming by-elections in Roi Et and Khon Kaen, the government parties all want the support of Sia Leng. "Ank...u...e...o...acy," (which is how Sia Leng says "thank you democracy").

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CSO: 4207/204

THAILAND

EFFECTS OF DROUGHT, GOVERNMENT RELIEF EFFORTS NOTED

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 26 Apr 87 pp 1, 16

[Unattributed report: "Drought Expands, Causes Damage in 53 Provinces"]

[Excerpt] A news report from the Department of Local Administration, Ministry of Interior, reported the damage that has been caused by the drought as of 17 April. It said that nationwide, 53 provinces, 344 districts, 2,258 subdistricts, and 13,489 villages have been hit by drought. This has caused problems for 1,105,119 families. A total of 5,725,102 rai of agricultural land has been damaged.

The report stated that to help provide relief, the affected provinces have received 4,849,365 baht from government reserve funds in accord with the criteria and methods established by the Ministry of Interior. A total of 555 government trucks have made 19,215 trips to distribute 120,146 cubic meters of water to 782,543 families.

The report stated that various units are providing help. For example, the Office of the Secretary General for Civil Disaster Prevention, Department of Local Administration, has allocated 150 million baht for providing relief. Of this, 86,441,401 has been used to help disaster victims, and 14,735,400 baht has been given to seven drought-stricken provinces and one unit. This leaves 48,822,799 baht. The Department of Public Welfare has provided 20 water tankers. The Police Fire Brigade Division, Police Department, has sent 20 vehicles to provide help. The Department of Public Works has dug 767 wells in 55 provinces and sent trucks to transport water from 8 water sources to the stricken areas. The Office of Accelerated Rural Development has dug 100 wells in 5 northeastern provinces.

The Royal Irrigation Department has provided 52 water pumps and 30 water tankers to help 7 northeastern provinces, 4 central provinces, 4 eastern provinces, and 1 western province. The Ministry of Public Health has provided 20 mobile water supply tools. The Ministry of Defense has sent 80 water tankers to the northeast and 20 tankers to the east. The Provincial Water Works Authority is cooperating with the government sectors and state enterprises to help those who lack water. It is providing water free of charge in the northeast and north.

The report stated that as a result of the efforts of the provinces and units to help those suffering from the drought, water has been supplied to 89 percent of those in the northeast in need of drinking water. During the past 7 days, there have been thunderstorms in several places in the northeast. The rain has been heavy in some spots and light in others. In some districts, the rainfall has been sufficient to satisfy the need for water for daily use. This is because the Ministry of Interior stepped up the program to produce earthen jars. To date, 4,064,170 jars have been produced.

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CSO: 4207/204

EDITORIALS CONDEMN BOMBING OF NEWSPAPER OFFICE

BK311604 [Editorial Report] Two Thai language dailies, SIAM RAT and MATICHON, on 30 May carry editorials commenting on the grenade attack on 29 May of the office of the DAILY MIRROR newspaper of Samak Suntharawat, leader of the Prachakon Thai Party.

SIAM RAT's 700-word editorial on page 8, entitled: "We Must condemn It Once Again," notes that the attack came in the wake of Samak's criticism of an army general in the form of an open letter to the defense minister. Earlier, on 11 March a bomb was thrown into Samak's house damaging the fence. The incident occurred after Samak criticized Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon in his DAILY MIRROR column for improper reference to his majesty the king.

The two incidents are "threats" meant as a warning that as one has his pen and his freedom of speech, another has his bombs. In short, the two bomb attacks were meant to threaten Samak Suntharawat directly. "No matter what were the motives behind those bombings, we must say that they are seriously damaging the image of the country. It makes our country look like a state of anarchy, a lawless country. It particularly constitutes a challenge to the government's authority," the editorial says. If the police again cannot find the culprits, as in the case of the previous explosion, we must conclude that this grenade attack is again political.

MATICHON's 800-word editorial on page 6, entitled: "Another Bomb Attack," sees the attack, as the one in March, as a threat to Samak Suntharawat, leader of the Prachakon Thai Party. It notes that the incident must be the work of professionals, not amateurs. Whoever is responsible cannot escape judgment by the people. Although we are in a country where democracy is only half baked, the people and the representatives of the people enjoy freedom of expression. An abuse of such freedom should be dealt with through legal action, not by the law of a gangster.

In conclusion, the paper says: "There have been bomb attacks like this one many times, but no culprit has ever been arrested. This has disappointed the general public. Anyway, those in charge of law and order, that means, the interior minister and the police director cannot give up. Their failure would only reflect their lack of efficiency and constitute a threat to the morale of the general public. Yet, that does not mean they should save themselves by giving promises to the people while doing nothing to follow up what happened."

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CSO: 4200/614

NEW 3D ARMY CHIEF, LT GEN SIRI TIWAPHAN, PROFILED

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 31 Mar 87 pp 5, 15

[Text] Finally, an official appointment has been announced for the new 3d Army Area commander. The person who just pinned on the "Lieutenant General" insignia and allowed the media to conduct TV news interviews and take pictures is Lt Gen Siri Tiwaphan, former deputy commander of the 3d Army Area.

Lt Gen Siri was born on 17 May 1934 in Baankhokha, Tambonkhuimhak, Nongkhae District, Sara Buri. His primary education was obtained in Sara Buri; after that, he continued his education at the military preparatory school and the Dvianbhokins Royal Military Academy. He graduated as a "platoon leader" in 1957; several well-known officers were also in his class. He chose the infantry school, Battalion-level courses at the infantry center, the Royal Thai Army Command and General Staff College, parachute course, class of '68, at the special warfare school, and lastly, the Army War College in 1981. His overseas schooling was at Fort Benning in the United States where he took the signal officer (infantry) course.

Important positions held include company commander in the infantry battalion at the infantry center, and since being promoted to "captain" in 1963, he was then chief of operations in the 4th Infantry Division; in 1970, he became deputy chief of staff of the 4th Infantry Division; chief of staff of the 4th Infantry Division in 1977; promoted to assistant division commander in the same Division in 1981; in 1982, promoted to division commander of the 4th Infantry Division, "Deputy 3d Army Area Commander;" and now, he is the 3d Army Area Commander.

He has performed in an outstanding manner, whether in the military field or in general public assistance; this made him an exemplary Thai in 1985. As for his family, he is married to Mrs Prasom Tiwaphan; they have two sons and one daughter. For sport, he likes to play tennis. He also enjoys conversing with his military friends and people in general. Everyone considers him sincere.

His most outstanding achievement was as director for development of the King Saravan post. He seriously devoted himself to the development of the King Saravan post including the improvement of quarters, residences, the environment and security in the post, staff morale, quality of life, security, etc. He set morale and material development objectives simultaneously.

At the beginning, he got rid of most of the deteriorated places but the staff residences had not been developed as they should have been. Lt Gen Siri Tiwaphan, director of the post development project, talked to and inspired the staff to cooperate in developing the residences. He scheduled the second and fourth Saturdays of the month, as well as other holidays, as residence development days.

.... This officer still has a future because his retirement date is in 1994, about 7 years away.

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CSO: 4207/1HR

ARMY ORDNANCE PRODUCTION, STANDARDS REPORTED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 19 Mar 87 p 11

[Handling the Claws column by M. C. Wan: "Mortars"]

[Text] I have discussed weapons in three columns now. We began by discussing the weapons that the Royal Thai Army produces itself. Many readers wrote in to say tht this is something about which we can be very proud and happy. At least, we can produce these things ourselves and don't have to purchase everything. We are doing our best given our state of knowledge and budget restrictions (this is very important). This matter was classified "secret" at one time. But now, because of disclosures by LAK THAI, some of these secrets have made the Thai people very proud, which in turn has improved the morale of those involved in the production of these weapons. The Asia 87 Weapons Exhibition will be held at the end of this month at the Central Plaza. Some people have suggested that we show some of the weapons that we have produced. But unfortunately, the Ministry of Defense has refused to grant permission. The Thai people would have a chance to see and handle our weapons, particularly the various artillery pieces standing firmly on outstretched legs.

Arranged in a row in the rear at Khao Sam Yot, Lopburi, were mortars of various sizes that the army had produced. All of these weapons have been deployed in military units. Moreover, they have already been used in battle. How effective have they been? You will have to ask Vietnam and Heng Samrin.

I saw 105-mm, 90-mm, 80-mm, and 60-mm commando mortars, which are used at the platoon, company, battalion, and regimental levels depending on the situation, location, and mission.

At the Army Weapons Production Center, mortars are produced at a rate sufficient to meet our needs. This includes ordinary types using a trigger and firing pin. However, a special type of recoil support has been designed for use in Thailand. It has a newly designed "high-level bush" and direction beam and a spring-action firing pin, which is an important part of a mortar. The ones we have produced meet world standards.

Both the 60-mm and 80-mm mortars meet U.S. standards. The 90-mm and 105-mm mortars are based on American, English, and Israeli designs. Thus, these are

unique weapons found nowhere else in the world. The good features have all been incorporated in the design and the bad points have been reworked in order to have the best system possible.

The artillery and mortar production plant of the Army Weapons Production Center has a problem that needs to be solved. This concerns the quality of the metal. The unit does not have its own metallurgist. At present, it is using an army engineer officer who has some "expertise" in this field. It has been proposed that in view of the fact that it has not yet been possible to attract such people into the army, unit personnel should be given scholarships to attend an institution within the country. This has already been "discussed" by senior echelons in the army. Another matter is the machinery that is used. Most of this is older equipment that requires great skill on the part of those who operate it. Because of this, production is slow. In calibrations, the measuring tools that are used, that is, "vernier," are rather crude. This is different from the machines that use a digital measuring system, which is quite accurate. Installing digital systems on the original machines will improve the machines greatly without our having to purchase completely new systems.

Funds were requested and a total of 175 million baht was approved for making these improvements. But only 63 million baht was actually received. Even if the remaining amount is paid now, it is no longer sufficient because prices have increased greatly. The program for which these funds were approved ran from 1983 to 1985. But because the funds were received just this year, they are insufficient based on 1987 prices. More money is needed. The equipment to be upgraded can be used to produce both artillery pieces and mortars. It is essential that financial support be provided quickly for such equipment as copy milling equipment for producing the oil shafts of the recoil intake system, "center machining" equipment for producing the end pieces and artillery tube shifting mechanisms and "tool room" tools for producing artillery and mortar tubes.

11943/12947
CSO: 4207/189

4-YEAR TV COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH CSSR

BK290615 Phnom Penh SPK in English 1138 GMT 28 May 87

[Text] Phnom Penh, 28 May (SPK)--An agreement on TV cooperation for 1987-91 between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was signed in Phnom Penh Wednesday [27 May] afternoon.

Signatories were Kim Yin, member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee and general director of the Kampuchean Radio and TV; and Jiri Veseli, Czechoslovak ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Kampuchea.

Under the agreement, which is in furtherance of the cultural cooperation agreement between the two countries signed on 13 November 1980, the General Department of the Kampuchean Radio and TV and the Czechoslovak television will exchange their delegations; Czechoslovakia will send its specialists to help train Kampuchean TV workers.

Prior to the signing ceremony, the General Department of the Kampuchean Radio and TV received the telecine machine and 44 document films as a gift from the Czechoslovak TV.

The gift was handed over by Jiri Veseli to Kim Yin, who profoundly thanked the Czechoslovak party, people and especially the Czechoslovak television for their precious support and assistance to the Kampuchean people in their national construction and defence. He also expressed satisfaction at the growing cooperation between the two parties, two governments and especially between Kampuchean television (T.V.K.) and Czechoslovak television.

/12858

CSO: 4200/606

HA BAC EXAMINES PARTY MEMBERS' QUALIFICATIONS

BK310644 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 28 May 87

[Text] The Party Control Committee of Ha Bac Province has actively examined the qualities and qualifications of party cadres and members and checked the implementation of the principles of party building and the use of the party's budget. This is aimed at serving the movement for purifying the party ranks and enhancing the party's combativity.

The Provincial Control Committee has sent cadres to review control work and enforcement of party discipline carried out by lower-echelon control committees vis-a-vis a number of district party committee secretaries and 15 basic party organizations. The provincial cadres also helped promptly rectify incorrect applications of disciplinary measures against party members or lax management of cadres which led to deviation and denegation among party members, thereby affecting the masses' confidence in the party.

Through its activities, the Provincial Control Committee has clarified the applications of disciplinary measures against more than 100 party members who were key cadres of various committees and sectors from the provincial to the village level, including 26 members who were expelled from the party.

During the inspection drive carried out to serve the elections of the National Assembly and people's councils at various levels, the Provincial Control Committee examined nearly 120 cases, enabling various consultative conferences to cross off 35 unqualified people from the lists of candidates. These results have really promoted the masses' confidence in the party.

/12858

CSO: 4200/606

CANDIDATES, HOC MON DISTRICT VOTERS EXCHANGE VIEWS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 31 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Nguyen Duc: "Truth and Confidence"]

[Text] (Notes taken at meeting between Hoc Mon voters and Eighth National Assembly candidates on 26 March 1987.)

That was a meeting for more than 1,000 voters representing over 200,000 citizens of the land of the revolution--Hoc Mon, Ba Diem, and 18 Vuon Trau hamlets--to get in touch with the National Assembly candidates. That was a real contact. For these voters did not come to "see the faces" of candidates, nor to "get harmony between hosts and guests," but to meet them in order to express and exchange views and to ask them questions in the spirit of speaking frankly and speaking the truth.

The six candidates--Ba Dinh, president of the Vietnam Women's Union; Colonel Nguyen Van Rang, deputy commander of the Municipal Military Command; Nguyen Khai, an army writer; Huynh Ngoc Dien, an agricultural cooperative director; Tran Thi Ut, secretary of an agricultural cooperative party chapter, all of Cu Chi District; and Le Thi Hue, vice president of the district chapter of the Association of Collective Farmers--are not strangers to Hoc Mon residents. And each and every one of them spoke about what he/she had done and would be doing in the capacity of a revolutionary cadre and a deputy of the National Assembly by the people and for the people.

Although all of them were qualified, the selection they would have to make (to elect four of the six) compelled the voters to listen attentively to what the deputies had to say in order to make up their mind. But more importantly, they had to listen very carefully so as to convey their thoughts to the persons who would soon on behalf of the people take care of the country's affairs and thus resolve the matters they had in mind.

There still are difficulties and obstacles in production and irrationalities in life--that was a topic that lately, at any meeting, we heard people mentioning and discussing. But at this meeting, it was raised and discussed down to its very reasons in a more positive manner and in greater details. Who have made prices skyrocket? Who are responsible for the serious difficulties now encountered in the life of cadres, workers, and civil

servants, and retired cadres? Why do we do productive work and yet have not enough to eat? Those were questions that were repeatedly asked and led to the same conclusion: Nobody other than the machinery of social management being too bureaucratic, cumbersome, and ineffective has been responsible for this predicament.

Because Hoc Mon is an agricultural-production district, the representatives of its voters knew more than anybody else the investing-in-agriculture policy which lately has been very "nonagricultural": The norms set for investment were irrational and heavily aimed at "exploiting" producers. The fact that the investment plan always was unstable and lacked uniformity has kept the collectivized farmers in a permanent state of want, in spite of their working so hard all year round. The representatives questioned the candidates to see this time how the National Assembly would resolve these problems.

Aunt Nam Nuoi, a veteran party member who joined the party over 50 years ago, talked about the injustices imposed on farmers: "Hoc Mon is strong only because of its vegetables and sugar cane. Last year, because of a shortage of sugar cane and sugar, the district and villages had been asking farmers to grow large quantities of sugar cane. But now, at harvest time, there are no buyers because they have said they were short of cash, and sugar cane prices have dropped. How can sugar cane growers survive, after the state has refused to sell rice to them as it did to growers of vegetables and peanut, and now at harvest time, refuses to buy their product? What must the National Assembly urgently do this time in order to resolve the "floating" condition of the farmers' life?"

Life in the countryside, compared to that in urban areas, is more backward and poorer. According to Aunt Nam Nuoi, on the one hand, there has been no priority policy, "nothing yet," for the rural districts and on the other, it has been due to the primary-level management machinery, which she called "the new puppet villages in the countryside," being bureaucratic and inefficient; as a result, the policies at the higher level were not fully implemented for the benefit of the people, whose questions failed to reach the higher level.

Duong Ba, a retired cadre in Tan Thoi Hiep Village, as Aunt Nam Nuoi did, made a suggestion: "The forthcoming National Assembly must quickly adopt a code to promulgate social justice. Everybody must be equal before the law, and there cannot be a situation in which "A cat will be beaten almost to death if it steals fish, but a tiger can carry away a cow without anybody daring to touch it." Aunt Nam Nuoi also expressed an aspiration: "Farmers can try to go hungry and to bear hardships, but they can bear injustices no more at all."

The messages given to the candidates by Huynh Hiep Dinh of Tan Thoi Nhi Village, Nguyen Dinh Lan of Dong Hung Thuan Village, Nguyen Van Lieu of the town of Hoc Mon, and so on contained the common wish that following their election, the deputies would keep in close touch with the people of Hoc Mon; depending on their work, speak to the party and state as the voice of the local people; and along with the National Assembly, fulfill their aspirations and wherever they would go and whatever they would do, put above every other function the fact that they are the representatives of the people.

Among the older representatives of voters, many had voted seven times to elect deputies of the National Assembly of independent Vietnam. Every time they held a vote, they put into it their heart and aspirations. And this time, for a number of elderly people, it could be the last voting in their life. Therefore, they wanted to pour all torments and worries from their heart which had been devoted to the party all their life for the promotion of welfare and happiness and remained unsatisfied until now. As they spoke about such concrete subjects as sugar cane, vegetables, military personnel, jobs for the young people, and so on with trembling voices at the podium, everybody in the audience felt as if he was to be blamed. The atmosphere of the meeting became tense under the weight of "speaking frankly, speaking the truth." But both speakers and listeners, both candidates and voters felt confidence rising in their heart.

"Only from a strong confidence you can offer such frank and sincere opinions," Ba Dinh asserted in her response. And we also noticed a very young confidence shining bright in the eyes of the elderly people, as they were leaving the meeting.

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CSO: 4209/424

CANDIDATES, TAN BINH DISTRICT VOTERS EXCHANGE VIEWS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 29 Mar 87 p 1

[Article by Thuy Tien: "National Assembly Deputies Can Properly Fulfill Their Task Only by Attentively Listening to Voters' Feelings and Aspirations"]

[Text] (Notes taken during a meeting between candidates-Eighth National Assembly deputies of electoral unit 5 and representatives of Tan Binh District voters in the morning of 28 March 1987.)

It was not quite 0800 hours, but the conference hall of the People's Committee of Tan Binh District was already packed with people. With a 700-person capacity, the hall was truly small for more than 1,000 voters representing neighborhood teams, boards, sectors, mass organizations, and working people throughout the district, who had come here to attend a meeting with the candidates-Eighth National Assembly deputies.

Phan Van Khai, on behalf of the candidates, explained the objective and subjective difficulties the municipality encountered in its efforts to organize the fulfillment of its socioeconomic goals. Then he mentioned the actual programs of action aimed at overcoming production difficulties and making in-depth investment in favor of the consumer goods production and export sectors so as to reduce labor and to take good care of the working people's life. Other candidates in turn spoke about their concern and dilemma regarding the present difficulties of the majority of working people and promised that in their capacity, no matter whether they would be elected or not, they would do their very best to contribute to successfully carrying out the three major programs that the Sixth Party Congress has suggested.

Allowing no "dead" time, voters took turns expressing their opinions. The representative of the teachers' group spoke about the state of teaching and learning, with quality declining more and more everyday. Explaining that the reason was a lack of proper interest in the life of teachers and a lack of investment in the material base of teaching, he asked the candidates, following their election, to convey at any cost the urgent needs in the life of those people responsible for educating the young generation for the sake of future national construction. The voters of Subwards 9 and 18 spoke about the unjust aspects of today's incomes. Why does a worker who operates a machine that produces goods for export and brings in foreign currencies for the

country get lower wages than a commercial sector civil servant? Why are physicians and engineers who use their professional knowledge to make money condemned while their colleagues who raise animals and do other work unrelated to their professional fields are praised? Why does the state call for stabilizing market prices and at the same time raise the prices of some essential goods? Voters asked the candidates to take notes and to convey their wishes to the National Assembly, the state organ holding the highest power, so that it would quickly adopt appropriate positions and policies aimed at encouraging working people, raising productivity, getting rid of wrong ideas, and building social justice. In the field of obeying the law and fighting negative behavior in and outside of society, the voters of Subwards 4 and 25 requested making public the handling of those cadres and party members who have committed wrongdoings, achieving justice before the law, and avoiding the present situation, in which things that should have been dealt with in public had been given "internal handling." In the work having to do with cadres, the voters of Subward 3 proposed a study by the National Assembly of the policy that requires caring for those cadres who scored many achievements in the war of resistance but asked it to avoid putting these cadres in the positions that would require good abilities and specific specialized knowledge just because of their past achievements. The voters of Subward 1 and from the small industry and handicraft production installations also suggested that candidates, upon their election, show an appropriate interest in the manual laborers who produce export and consumer goods and that they get rid of the inferiority complex toward those people who work on an individual basis but bring benefits to society.

The most common idea that all voters mentioned was that candidates, following their election, must maintain regular contact with voters (unlike in the past when they would contact voters only at the time of running for election and at the time of reviewing their work at the end of their term). When they contact voters, they must attentively listen to their ideas and legitimate aspirations in order to accurately convey them to the National Assembly. Only then will the National Assembly deputies deserve the confidence of voters and fulfill the task they have assigned to them.

On behalf of the group of candidates, Phan Van Khai sincerely thanked the voters for their very constructive contributions and promised that once they were elected, they would fulfill the tasks assigned to them by voters.

The meeting ended at 1130 hours. As we left, we still heard many voters say that had the meeting lasted for the entire day, there would have been not enough time to hear all of their ideas and that quite a few of them (because of lack of time) had written down their wishes to give to the National Assembly candidates.

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CSO: 4209/424

COLUMN SUGGESTS PROTECTION, OTHER WAYS TO SOLICIT IDEAS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 28 Mar 87 p 1

[Speak Frankly, Speak the Truth Forum column by Duong Thien Thanh, Subward 21 of 3rd Precinct: "To Get Democratic Fruits One Must Plant Democratic Trees"]

[Text] In the recent round of self-criticisms and criticisms, many localities really did their job. We should be happy about that! But our happiness has been somewhat dampened, and worries have surfaced. For we have realized that only a few localities did the job while many others did it only superficially, without any real substance. What we should worry about is that it may be just that, at that level! As I think of the opinions in my own family, I can see that the worries are not unfounded. My younger sister works in a commercial organ. She has the most "authority" in my family because she earns the highest income and bears the largest burden for the family. She said: "Suppose I fight and criticize and then get transferred to another location and have to work harder. Do you want that to happen?" Nobody was sure that would not happen. My entire family began to worry. I believed that wherever civil servants and cadres earned large incomes, we should struggle harder against negative behavior, which would easily arise because of the availability of lot of money and wealth and big spending. But it was there that the masses were reluctant to struggle. My younger brother offered his opinion: "If you fight and get retaliatory action against you, to whom can you complain? The youth union? Labor union? Women's association? People's council? It is not true that there have been no cases of mass organizations succeeding in protecting those who have fought, but let us ask how many such cases have happened in this city. Very few! As to complaining to the superior level, this is a complicated matter and there is no guarantee for success! Don't be foolish!" My older brother, who works in a high-ranking organ, told us that his boss, the organ chief, moved into one of the office buildings of the organ to live there as in his own house and gave his old house to his son. Everybody saw it as an unreasonable action, but nobody dared to say anything. Why? "Even the 'big shot' cadres and party members in positions of authority remained silent." A friend of mine who came to visit with us contributed his idea: "For an offense that would deserve prosecution, only an internal handling of it was imposed. After that the person concerned still remained in his position. Sometimes he had to go, but going would not be 'downward' but rather 'upward.' In the end, after the masses had offered

criticisms, a sentence (used for closing the door) was uttered in a courteous manner, 'Thank you, we'll draw some experience out of this.' That was it! Nobody would know how the drawing of experience was done. Things seemed quite disencouraging behind that experience drawing."

Because of what happened, it was understandable that the masses had been criticizing only some generalized things and talking about what the party had mentioned, without pointing to any specific persons. I myself would like to see first the party and administration do the following:

- To make sure the people who have criticized and struggled would not suffer from any losses. The party and mass organizations must protect them in case they have received unjust treatment because of their criticisms and struggle.
- In addition to open criticisms, to organize other forms of soliciting the masses' opinions, to give answers, or to demand very serious answers to the masses from organs and party organizations.
- To handle in a very fair manner and in accordance with the law all negative acts that have been discovered.
- Party members must struggle with vigor and set examples and serve as models for the masses to follow.

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CSO: 4209/424

JANUARY-FEBRUARY CHRONOLOGY GIVEN

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English No 3, Mar 87 p 32

[Text]

(15 January — 14 February)

JANUARY

15. Closing of the Third Vietnamese Economic-Technological Fair-Exhibition. It was visited in 60 days by nearly one million people including about one hundred foreign delegations. Prizes were awarded to 2,879 works and products including 167 gold, 664 silver and 273 bronze medals. Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi top the list of prize winners.

16 Hanoi: Signing of an agreement on an advisory project for the Phu Bang Shipyards.

16 — 17 Moscow: Holding of the 12th session of the Vietnam-USSR Intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation.

17 Hanoi: Inauguration of the building devoted to the Departments of Mathematics and Physics of the Hanoi Teachers' Training College No. 1. The building has a floor space of 3,000 square metres and includes 60 classrooms, 4 conference rooms, and many laboratories.

19 Hanoi: Signing of the Vietnam-Soviet Protocol on Friendship and Cooperation for 1987.

20 — 21: Vietnam attends the 122nd session of the CMEA Executive Committee in Moscow.

20 — 21: Vietnam attends the meeting of vice-foreign ministers of the socialist countries in Berlin.

22 — 23: A CPV delegation attends the Conference of Party Secretaries in charge of ideology and external relations of the socialist countries in Warsaw.

24 Hanoi: The Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Vietnam Committee for

Solidarity and Friendship with other Peoples, the Vietnam-India Friendship Association held a grand meeting to celebrate the 27th National Day of the Republic of India (26 Jan. 1950 — 28 Jan. 1987).

— Hanoi: On the occasion of the Dinh Mau Lunar New Year (the Year of the Cat), the Central Committee in Charge of Overseas Vietnamese holds a traditional meeting with overseas Vietnamese who are visiting the country.

— A Vietnamese delegation headed by Vice-Foreign Minister Huang Bach Son ends its official friendship visit to Poland, Hungary and the GDR which started on 12 Jan. 1987.

24 — 28: Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the CPV CC, and other Party and State leaders visit and celebrate Tet (the Lunar New Year) with the people, cadres, and combatants in Quang Ninh province, Hai Phong and Hanoi.

25: An economic delegation of the GDR Government headed by Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Horst Soller visits Vietnam. A Vietnam-GDR agreement on job training in 1986-1990 and documents on economic cooperation between the two countries are signed.

27 Hanoi: Signing of a Vietnam-USSR protocol on goods exchange and payment in 1987.

FEBRUARY

1 — 2: A CPV delegation headed by Tran Kien, Secretary of the CPV CC, Head of the Central Control Commission, attends the Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party.

6: A CPV delegation headed by Tran Kien, Secretary of the CPV CC, Head of the Central Control Commission, pays a friendship visit to the Arab Republic of Syria.

9: On the occasion of the 80th birthday of Truong-Chinh, President of the SRV Council of State (9 Feb. 1907 — 9 Feb. 1987), the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the GDR decide to confer on him respectively the October Revolution Order, the Klement Gottwald Order, the Georgi Dimitrov Order and the Karl Marx Order.

9 — 11: R. Ahmed, Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations, special representative of the UN Secretary General, visits Vietnam.

12: Establishment of diplomatic relations between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of Bolivia.

13: VNA reports that in early February, Nguyen Van Linh, General Secretary of the CPV CC, visited and had working sessions with production establishments, managerial cadres, scientists and technicians in Ho Chi Minh City.

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CSO: 4200/611

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Hanoi LUAT HOC in English No 3, Jul 86 p 80

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CSO: 4200/611

BRIEFS

WEST BERLIN PARTY CHIEF GREETED--Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the party Central Committee, recently sent the following message of greetings to Comrade Horst Schmidt, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin: Comrade, on the occasion of your re-election as chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, I would like to send you my warmest congratulations. May you enjoy good health and accomplish many achievements in your responsibility-laden position. My communist salutations, comrade. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 20 May 87 BK] /12858

LAI CHAU STEPS UP ACTIVITIES--Since early this year, the Lai Chau Provincial Public Security Service has sent 150 cadres and combatants from certain sections to all mountainous and border villages to coordinate with the local public security forces in constantly and firmly grasping various targets and encouraging the local people to help defend the borderline and consolidate 23 border villages in every aspect. The public security services in Phong Tho and Sinh Ho districts have detected 15 cases involving 24 cross-border smugglers, recovering for the state property worth hundreds of thousands of dong. Meanwhile the public security services in Muong Te District and Lai Chau City have launched many drives to track down gold traders and have stepped up household registration inspection, expelling hundreds of illegal residents. Since early this year, the Lai Chau Provincial Public Security Service has cracked and settled 71 percent of economic violation cases and 70 percent of other serious cases. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 27 May 87 BK] /12858

TRUONG CHINH VISITS ARTS, CRAFTS FAIR--Hanoi, 29 May (VNA)--State Council President Truong Chinh today visited the Second National Arts and Crafts Fair at the Giang Vo Exhibition Centre in Hanoi. More than 5,000 arts and crafts are on display, or ten times bigger in number than in the first one held last year. He was accompanied by Nguyen Thanh Binh, political bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and secretary of the Hanoi Party Committee. Calling at pavilions of provinces and cities, Truong Chinh commended efforts of the small industries and handicrafts of the localities. He urged them to do their best to further develop and make bigger contributions to meeting the demand for goods for home consumption and for export. At the pavilions of Laos, Kampuchea, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, President Truong Chinh expressed his satisfaction at the

cooperation between Vietnam and other socialist countries in this field, and wished for further development of the cooperation. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1516 GMT 29 May 87 OW] /12858

SOVIET MAGAZINE RECEIVES FRIENDSHIP ORDER--Hanoi, 29 May (VNA)--The State Council has decided to confer the "Friendship" Order on the Soviet magazine SOVIET UNION TODAY on its 25th anniversary. In a ceremony held here today, Dao Duy Tung, alternate political bureau member and secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, handed over the distinction to Soviet Ambassador D. Kachin, and asked him to convey it to the recipient. "This honour," said Dao Duy Tung, "was made in recognition of the magazine's efforts in making Vietnamese readers acquainted with the Soviet land and people, and the domestic and external policies of the Soviet party and government, thus contributing to tightening the relations and cooperation between the two countries." [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1527 GMT 29 May 87 OW] /12858

PHAM VAN DONG MEETS OUTGOING CANADIAN ENVOY--Hanoi, 30 May (VNA)--Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong received here yesterday Canadian Ambassador to Vietnam John Paynter who paid a farewell visit to the former before leaving here for home for a new assignment. The same day the Canadian ambassador also paid a farewell visit to Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the National Assembly, and vice president of the State Council. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0703 GMT 30 May 87 OW] /12858

ENVOY TO FRANCE AT AMITY RALLY--Hanoi, 31 May (VNA)--Vietnamese Ambassador to France Ha Van Lau attended "Day of Friendship with Vietnam" held in Carpentras town, Vaucluse Province, France on 27 May. Speaking at the event Ha Van Lau dwelt on the foreign policy of Vietnam and its relations with France. For his part, Claude Ribiere, president of the "Academy for the Development of International Relations" in Vaucluse, expressed his admiration for the Vietnamese people's valiant struggle against colonialism and imperialism. He expressed his belief that the Vietnamese people would overcome all difficulties and trials at present, and his hope for the further development of the friendship between the two countries. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1450 GMT 31 May 87 OW] /12858

CHILDREN'S DAY LETTER CALLS FOR PEACE--Hanoi, 1 June (VNA)--State Council President Truong Chinh today sent an open letter to children throughout the country on the occasion of the International Children's Day (1 June). The letter notes with satisfaction that the Vietnamese children have successfully finished the 1986-87 academic year with 5.5 million pupils awarded the title "Uncle Ho's Good Nieces and Nephews". The letter calls on the party organization and administration at all levels, mass organizations, parents, teachers and monitors to make greater efforts to better protect, bring up and educate children. It expresses best greetings to children throughout the world and calls on the world progressive people to join in the struggle against the current arms race and the danger of a nuclear war pursued by imperialism, and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress so that all children on this planet can live in peace, friendship and happiness. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0708 GMT 1 Jun 87 OW] /12858

TRUONG CHINH GREETES ITALIAN PRESIDENT--Hanoi, 1 June (VNA)--President of the State Council Truong Chinh has extended greetings to Italian President Francesco Cossiga on his country's National Day (2 June). [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1508 GMT 1 Jun 87 OW] /12858

NEW UK AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--Hanoi, 1 June (VNA)--The new ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Island to Vietnam, Emrys Thomas Davies, today presented his credentials to Vice President of the State Council Nguyen Huu Tho. The Vietnamese leader had a cordial conversation with the British diplomat. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1509 GMT 1 Jun 87 OW] /12858

CSO: 4200/612

RADIO WARNS AGAINST ENEMY INFILTRATION BY SEA

BK300759 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 28 May 87

[Le Van article: "Be Vigilant Against International Reactionaries' Infiltration Maneuvers in Our Country's Sea Areas"]

[Text] Stretching for 3,260 km in length, our country's coastline is a topographical maze featuring flat sandy expanses, immense swampy areas, rocky mountains and forests reaching out to the sea, and archipelagoes made up of thousands of big and small islands. Our country's sea areas have a continental shelf spanning hundreds of thousands of square kilometers and boast numerous valuable maritime products, millions of metric tons of which can be exploited annually for domestic consumption and export. Our country's coastal region is densely populated; and this is where a large number of Catholic believers live as it was here that Christianity was first introduced into our country. Our country's sea areas lie astride the route linking the Pacific and Indian oceans; and therefore, they assume an economic and maritime shipping position important not only to Southeast Asia but also to other countries in the world.

Because of their important location, our country's sea areas have long attracted the attention of international reactionaries. They have considered the coastal region a strategic area serving as a foothold where they can exploit human and material resources in support of their aggressive designs. In recent years, international reactionaries acting in collusion with the United States have intensified their multifaceted war of sabotage against our country; and the coastal region has become one of their major theaters of operation. They have used Thailand and some other ASEAN countries whose continental shelves abut Vietnam as the last footholds for infiltration into our country by both land and sea to gather intelligence, conduct sabotage activities, establish contacts, and organize underground forces to await the opportunity to oppose and undermine the Vietnamese revolution.

The enemies' infiltration activities are very broad in scope, direction, and format; and involve the use of men, letters, money, and goods, as well as psychological warfare maneuvers. Such infiltration attempts have been made openly at times under certain pretexts; and, at other times, in secrecy. In the past, the sea area from Quang Nam-Danang to Vung Tau-Con Dao has been teeming with foreign vessels, the majority of them flying the

Thai flag. The enemies often plant their agents on those vessels to carry out intelligence gathering and spying operations. Foreign intelligence services have also used their own vessels masquerading as fishing trawlers, scientific research vessels, and seabed survey ships; or sent their agents to work on fishing trawlers of capitalist companies. They have also taken advantage of international maritime law to dispatch their agents on foreign merchant and transport vessels to various seaports and even to Phnom Penh via the Tien River, or cited storms, accidents, and medical emergencies as excuses to infiltrate into our country's sea areas.

It is noteworthy that since early 1979, China has used both naval vessels and armed fishing trawlers equipped with radio and depth-sounding equipment to conduct fishing activities and survey the seabed while gathering intelligence and establishing contacts to set up bases among our sea fishermen. It has forced our fishermen to gather information about our military, political, and economic situation; and used goods to gain favors, establish contacts, conduct psychological warfare propaganda activities, and recruit the services of a number of persons as its henchmen.

One of the enemies' infiltration maneuvers is to send illegal sea emigrants back to Vietnam. The rate of repatriation of illegal sea emigrants by our enemies has increased steadily every year. They first sent back members of the puppet army and administration; but, later on, they also enlisted the services of degenerate and degraded elements and traitors to the fatherland who escaped abroad. After infiltration, these elements resort to different methods of hiding. Normally, they seek protection from their relatives or bases. Sometimes, they proceed directly to their bases; but at other times, they take a roundabout route before arriving at their destinations. Once safely positioned, they try to obtain legal papers before establishing contacts for operations. When discovered, they change their names and quickly move to other areas.

The tasks entrusted by the enemies to the infiltrators vary, even among members of the same group. Some infiltrators get out after completing a single task while others establish themselves legally and try to join state organs and army units. Some are specialized in gathering intelligence while others are charged with carrying out assassination and sabotage activities, establishing contacts with reactionary elements of the various religious communities and ethnic groups to set up underground forces, organizing illegal emigration by sea, or smoothing the way for would-be infiltrators.

Intelligence services of the expansionists and imperialists and some other capitalist countries often capitalize on the relations between illegal sea emigrants and our overseas Vietnamese and their relatives at home. Through letters, money, goods, and reactionary cultural works sent home by the former via the international postal system, the enemy wages a psychological war to poison our ideology, fan up opposition against the socialist system, maintain contacts with their already planted henchmen, and prepare the way for infiltrators--thus conducting a remote-controlled war of sabotage.

Regarding the enemy's technological means, we have found a number of radio sets, some of them in an operative state, installed on the shore or floating at sea near important port areas. Recently, we seized a number of radio sets bearing no trademarks from the northern sea areas off Quang Ninh, Haiphong, Thai Binh, and Binh Tri Thien; and they were found to be in operation upon being picked up from the sea. We have also captured carrier pigeons sent by foreign countries to our country on intelligence liaison mission.

Every hour and every day, a fierce struggle between ourselves and the enemy is taking place along the 3,260-km coastline and in the sea areas spreading across 500,000 square kilometers. With a plethora of sinister tricks and crafty maneuvers, the enemy is seeking to turn our country's sea areas into a theater for gathering intelligence, setting up bases, and waging a multifaceted war of sabotage against Vietnam.

/12858

CSO: 4200/609

VONADK REPORTS ANTI-SRV ACTIVITIES IN PHNOM PENH

BK310152 (Clandestine) Voice of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea
in Cambodian 2315 GMT 30 May 87

[From the "Daily Report from Various Battlefields" feature]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh battlefield: On 19 May, our National Army cooperated with the people and patriotic Cambodian soldiers in Phnom Penh and attacked the Vietnamese enemy west of Sereipheap Movie Hall, killing two and wounding three Vietnamese soldiers.

On 24 May, our National Army, in cooperation with the people and patriotic Cambodian soldiers in Phnom Penh, attacked the Vietnamese enemy next to Monorom Movie Hall in Phnom Penh, killing two and wounding four Vietnamese soldiers, and destroying 2 pistols.

On 25 May, our National Army, in cooperation with the people in Phnom Penh, planted mines at the Vietnamese enemy's office near the Olympic Stadium in Phnom Penh, killing three and wounding two Vietnamese soldiers, and destroying two pistols.

On 26 May, our National Army cooperated with the people and patriotic Cambodian soldiers in Phnom Penh and attacked the Vietnamese enemy along the river and at Chak Angre Leu market, killing 17 Vietnamese enemy soldiers on the spot and wounding 15 others; and destroying 5 pistols, 12 AK's, 5 B-40 and B-41 rocket launchers, and 2 large boats carrying army materiel.

On 26 May, our National Army cooperated with patriotic Cambodian soldiers in Phnom Penh and lobbed grenades at Vietnamese enemy soldiers next to Sereipheap Movie Hall in Phnom Penh, killing two, including a municipal official, and wounding two..

It is to be noted that following the above activities by our National Army in cooperation with the people and patriotic Cambodian soldiers, the situation in Phnom Penh to this day remains confused. The Vietnamese enemy has imposed curfew from 1700 to 0700 every day [1000 to 0000 GMT].

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CSO: 4200/609

VIETNAMESE AGRICULTURE IN NEW STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English No 3, Mar 87 pp 13-14

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Triu, vice-chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers]

[Text]

The Sixth Congress of the CPV marked a turning point and a renovation in Party leadership in every field. In the economic field, with the renovation of the economic structure and the structure of investments, and the renovation of economic policies and managerial mechanisms, the CPV advocates making agriculture the forefront of the battle of production in the coming years through the implementation of three major programmes: food, consumer goods, and export commodities.

It is common knowledge that large-scale industry is the road leading to the success of socialism. However, to develop a large-scale industry from an agriculture characterized by small-scale and dispersed production and by the predominance of manual labour one must clearly define the orientation, contents and steps for forming an economic structure suited to successive periods. Facts over the past ten years have proved the decisive significance of this.

In spite of natural calamities, agriculture in the past five years (1981—85) gained considerable achievements. Crop farming, animal husbandry, production of food grain and industrial crops all made headway. However, they were not equal to both potentials and requirements. There was some increase in food grain output but food availability per head of population was still low and unsteady; animal husbandry showed but slow development; agriculture could not supply enough raw materials to industry and enough goods for export.

Thus we see all the more clearly the role and position of agriculture in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. As our country has a tropical agriculture, a fairly large population, abundant manpower, a great diversity of land, forest and marine resources, our foremost task is to concentrate

on exploiting our agricultural potentials and developing our agriculture. This is obviously a correct approach to establishing a rational economic structure in a gradual way. This also means gradually shifting from an autarkic agriculture, and a small-scale commodity production to a large-scale system with ever greater productivity, better quality and higher efficiency.

To say that agriculture is the forefront does not simply mean rearranging the order of priority in the national economy. Nor is it a mere appeal. It is a socio-economic strategy. It requires all levels of authority from the centre down to the grassroots to adopt a new way of thinking and a new style of work. It calls for creativeness and a concentration of material and technological means. It involves new economic policies and managerial mechanisms. The aim is to win a decisive victory on the agricultural front, which will be followed by comprehensive, socio-economic development and the strengthening of national defence and security.

To create new developments in our agriculture we must emphasize the following two points.

First, the renovation of the investment policy aimed at gradually laying the necessary material-technological basis for agricultural production.

Vietnamese agriculture at present needs sufficient and well-coordinated investments, so that it can feed itself and feed the whole of society and provide support to socialist industrialization.

Over the past years, our investments in agriculture were spread thin. They were neither concentrated nor well-coordinated. We paid little attention to in-depth investment and to a careful choice of projects and locations. Hence the poor results.

Therefore, investments for agriculture in the coming years must be geared to serve the three great programmes, first of all the food programme with priority given to rice without neglecting, however, the development of subsidiary food crops. At the same time we must take into consideration the development of industrial crops, and export crops, especially fast-growth ones, and the processing and preservation of agricultural product. Investments should be focused on areas with great potentials, stable production conditions, and good prospects for a rapid increase of commodity production. Following this direction, we should concentrate our investments on the Mekong delta, which is the greatest production centre of marketable rice in our country. At the same time we should give due attention to the Red River delta and some other regions with a view to solving the food problem in a lasting way.

Priority to investment in wet-rice growing and intensive farming will produce more marketable food and is the fundamental measure to ensure a steady food supply to the big cities, industrial centres and industrial-crop areas.

Attention should be paid to the building of the infrastructure: irrigation works, arrangement of fields, rural transport and communications, seed stations, plant-protection and veterinary services, industries serving agriculture (chemical fertilizers, spare parts for tractors, farm tools, etc.). We should ensure a timely supply of fertilizers, draught power, energy, pesticides, etc. Investments should not only aim at immediate requirements but also lay the basis for major developments in future. A steady development of agriculture can only be ensured by ceaselessly strengthening the material and technological infrastructure, promoting scientific research, and rapidly applying technological advances.

While making possible a diversified and plentiful agriculture, our tropical climate also causes severe calamities. Hence the importance of protecting our crops. Floods, drought, pests and plant diseases are major problems. Investments in energy, fuel, and pesticides in the past were far from adequate, partly owing to our failure to give proper priority to agriculture.

Investments in agriculture should be derived not only from State or provincial budgets but also from contributions by production units and the working people.

Investments should rely on the system of economic levers — price, credit, state procurement, marketing, etc. Unfortunately, we did not make good use of this system, thereby putting a brake on the ability of provinces and the grassroots units to make investments and holding up the development of production.

Second, there must be a renovation of policies regarding production units and farmers and our immense rural areas where live two-thirds of our population.

As agriculture is considered the forefront of the battle and agricultural manpower accounts for the majority of the social workforce and is a decisive factor for fulfilling agricultural targets, the establish-

ment of incentives for farmers, for agricultural enterprises and for the rural areas must have top priority. The question is how to give full play to the productive forces, especially the workforce. The zeal with which the farmers work should be the yardstick measuring the correctness of our policies.

To this end, we must create jobs, good working conditions, and the proper means for raising productivity and efficiency. On this basis the working people can increase their incomes as they work harder and fulfil their obligations to their collectives and to society at large. Policies should be issued to encourage cooperatives and production collectives to develop production and trading, practise good management, and make rational use of their land. While the average cultivated area per head of population is too small, we are allowed by our natural conditions to raise several crops a year. For that reason, besides practising intensive farming, we must attach great importance to the expansion of the cultivated area and the multiplication of crop; we must work out the proper orientation and structure for raising plants and animals according to specific local conditions; we must apply technological advances, and promote crafts and trades. We must also renovate management, abolish the subsidy-based system, and practise economic accounting. All this will help raise the remuneration of the workday, increase incomes derived from the collective economy, and add to the accumulation of reserves by cooperatives. At the same time, the family economy must be stimulated in order to create jobs and increase incomes.

Over the past years, agricultural cooperatives have not truly practised economic accounting. Our policies now must allow grassroots units (State-run farms, cooperatives, and production collectives, etc.) more initiative in organizing production and trading, creating jobs, promoting crafts and trades, combining production with the processing of produce, expanding the circulation of goods, produce items for export, and so on.

We must put an end to the passivity of State-run farms, cooperatives and production collectives, which have to deliver to the State all kinds of products while their members must be content with low incomes. This has caused the peasants to work perfunctorily, reserving time and efforts for sideline occupations. There should be fair, rational, and consistent policies for the mobilization of contributions from cooperatives, production collectives, and the rural population at large.

The Sixth Party Congress has made concrete recommendations, including an amendment of the agricultural tax scale and temporary tax exemption for units which have only recently practised crop multiplication or have expanded their cultivated area. Once the taxes paid to the State, all economic relations between cooperatives and State shall be based on buying and selling contracts, according to the principles of equality and parity. Outside the guaranteed contracts, the State and cooperatives should conduct their buying and selling operations at mutually agreed prices.

Policies on agriculture and the rural areas should aim not only at the development of production but also at stabilizing and gradually improving the people's living conditions, building new rural areas, and forming new people. Therefore, while striving

to improve working conditions, boost incomes, and encourage contributions to the State, we should gradually meet the people's needs in clothing, housing, education, health care, medical treatment, cultural activities, transport, etc.

The present socio-economic situation requires a renovation of thinking and action. This process has begun in the agricultural sector. In order to fulfil our food programme, all our renovation efforts must be focused on the above two questions: the renovation of investment and that of economic policies. This will enable agriculture to develop rapidly and steadily, and bring genuine benefits to the working people. It will allow production units to operate with dynamism, initiative and efficiency, and encourage the people to work hard.

/9274

CSO: 4200/618

SOLUTIONS TO AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS PROPOSED

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English No 3, Mar 87 pp 15-16

[Text]

Our agriculture, at least north of Hue, is caught in a vicious circle: low food output means shortage of animal feed and consequently poor animal husbandry, which leads to shortage of manure and draught force, hence low productivity and output.

Low output and slow development of industrial crops badly affect exports and foreign-currency earnings, which in turn hampers import of fertilizers and insecticides. The stagnation of agricultural production has a bad effect on the standard of living. Animal husbandry is not developed, hence an unbalanced diet, insufficient supply of calories to humans, higher requirements of rice to compensate for it and even less progress in animal husbandry.

How can this vicious circle be broken? By solving the following four problems:

1. Technology

The development of agriculture calls for good seeds, adequate supply of fertilizers and insecticides, and proper irrigation. The first obstacle is the lack of foreign currencies for importing fuel and fertilizers.

For the moment, let's put aside the question of the granting of aid and loans by foreign countries and other ways of earning foreign currencies. The point is that we

should make good use of what we have since we have plentiful manpower but are short of means of production and capital, the first thing to do is to fully use this labour force and economize on machines and fuel. We must develop to the full our farmers' tradition of intensive culture and turn to full account their labour and the draught animals we have. A household with 28 working members and a buffalo can farm 8 hectares of two-crop ricefields. But at present each household has only one hectare of farmland. The problem is to raise productivity without creating redundancy of manpower. For instance, except in the case of natural calamities, irrigation can be done manually by using hand scoops. Thus, an urgent task is to raise more buffaloes and turn out more improved implements. There should be one buffalo for every four households, not for every 40 households as at present. Overwork has killed too many draught animals, and improved farm tools are also lacking badly.

As for the supply of manure and compost, it depends on animal husbandry and the growing of industrial crops. More of that later.

2. Crops and Agricultural Structure

We grow mainly rice. This is bad because growing rice on all

soils and in all climates gives poor results. The autarkic character of rice growing in various regions and a uniform policy of food delivery to the State applied all over the country hamstrings crop specialization. Our crop structure has remained that of a scattered and autarkic agriculture. We must make a number of changes:

a) Different crops should be grown depending on soil and climatic conditions. Formerly, Phu Tho for instance specialized in such industrial crops as tea, lacquer-producing sumac, palms and grew only enough food for six months each year. At present while it must sell 100% of its production of tea, lacquer and palmleaves to the State, it also has to make food deliveries to it like other provinces. To obtain high yields, a region must be allowed to specialize in industrial crops, and not be obliged to grow enough food for itself. Otherwise, its production of industrial crops will decrease, while the food crops grown will not compensate for the lost returns.

b) The choice of a crop depends on two factors; its use value and its exchange value. The exchange value is to be reckoned not only at home but also on the international market. For instance, we can grow orchids for export, though this plant has little use value in the country.

This structural change in terms of crops must go together with a structural change of agriculture itself, that is, we must step up animal husbandry. At present, in our country, crop cultivation still accounts for 90% of the value of agricultural production. This is characteristic of backward farming.

To develop animal husbandry, we must give up the viewpoint of an economy of subsistence. We stand for rearing fewer grain-eating animals and more grass-eating animals. But our grasslands are not extensive and the grass that

grows there has little nutritive value for grazing animals. That is why apart from making full use of all our grasslands, we must step up the rearing of fish, for which we have large possibilities. We have an extensive network of rivers and ponds, and thousands of kilometres of coastline, and our returns from fish rearing could be even greater than those from fishing. Moreover, we should make the necessary investments in animal husbandry, and grow food plants for animals such as maize and potato. It is estimated that by the year 2000, while the area of our ricefields will have increased only 1.7 times, that under subsidiary food crops could have expanded 5.8 times. (9 times for maize; 19 times for potato).

3. The Human Factor: The Farmer

The decisive factor is man. At present, investments in agriculture come mainly from the people themselves. So, our agriculture cannot develop failing a policy encouraging them to produce zealously. It should involve the following:

— An accurate and stable estimate of soil productivity over a period of 5—10 years;

— A surplus to be left to the farmers after compulsory deliveries of food to the State.

— To raise the price at which this surplus is to be bought by the State. Ultimately, it should be left for the farmers to sell it freely on the market.

— To upgrade processing, trading, and transport facilities in order to promote exchanges between town and country, between food-crop regions and industrial-crop regions, between crop cultivation and animal husbandry.

—To reduce to a minimum the number of administrative personnel in the communes.

2. Factors Stimulating Agricultural Production

The above policies are not enough to encourage the producers. Their requirements should be better satisfied. Today we have two kinds of peasants:

1. Those who produce marketable agricultural commodities, mostly farmers in the Mekong delta and in the suburb of such cities as Hanoi, Hai Phong, Da Nang... They have an entrepreneurial spirit and work fairly efficiently.

2. Those who practise an economy aimed at self-sufficiency: the remaining part of the peasantry living in the Mekong delta, and the majority of those living in central and northern Vietnam. They work for simple reproduction, with low efficiency and solely to

satisfy their needs, which have remained unchanged for ages. When production is not aimed at satisfying the growing needs of a civilized society, people do not work intensely enough.

That is why in order to boost production in the present conditions of Vietnam, one must abolish the outmoded and backward forms of production and bring into play all latent potentials by:

1. Stepping up the production of agricultural goods, and bringing into play the commodity-money relationship;

2. Separating agriculture from handicrafts;

3. Stepping up the division of labour in agriculture; and

4. Promoting exchanges between town and country, between agricultural regions (crop cultivation and animal husbandry), between agriculture and handicrafts.

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CSO: 4200/618

NHAN DAN EDITORIAL VIEWS INDUSTRIAL CROPS

BK311510 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 28 May 87

[NHAN DAN 29 May editorial: "Expand the Area and Carry Out Intensive Cultivation of Industrial Crops"]

[Text] Along with improving a comprehensive agricultural production, during the past several years we have developed fairly well various industrial crops in terms of area and productivity. These include short-term crops such as peanut, soybean, sugarcane, tobacco, jute, cotton, rush and so forth, and long-term industrial crops such as tea, coffee, rubber, coconut, tung trees, cashew nut, orange, and lemon. Many provinces increased their industrial crops by 10 to 15 percent and 15 to 20 percent in terms of area and productivity respectively. All regions and provinces have applied progressive models for intensive cultivation to increase productivity at least in one of their areas or units.

Thanks to the gradual renovation of the management mechanism and the promulgation of policies on encouraging industrial crop cultivation, many localities and production establishments have stopped the one-crop system and engaged in specialized cultivation and integrated business. They have positively reclaimed more virgin land, increased crop rotation cultivation, expanded more cultivation areas, and applied many scientific and technological advances to production. The newly obtained achievements are very valuable, yet the development of industrial crops is not strong enough and it does not match the great potentials in land, labor, the material and technical bases, and the favorable conditions of the tropical area. Various integrated, specialized cultivation areas have been established slowly. In some areas, industrial crops developed inconsistently, 1 year with a bumper crop, while another with a poor yield. The main cause was due to the slow implementation of the zoning off and planning for industrial crops, especially the lack of a scientific base and a uniform investment policy. The relations between production, processing, preservation, and transportation links have not been appropriately maintained. We still need more potential for developing the long- and short-term industrial crops to produce products for consumption and for export, much more potential than what we have at present.

The industrial crops cooperation programs between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are developing with bright prospects.

We must vigorously develop industrial crops by expanding areas and carrying out intensive cultivation to increase productivity. By applying diversified crop patterns suitable for each type of soil and appropriate to each season and crop schedule, we will effectively implement the motto: The state and the people work together, the central level and localities share their common concern. We must strengthen various joint ventures by zoning off specialized cultivation areas and expanding them for intensive cultivation of industrial crops by the three economic components, namely state-run, collective, and family sectors.

On the basis of reviewing land and planning and selecting the best rice varieties, each locality must formulate a plan to develop short-term industrial crops with appropriate and balanced measures. We must clearly specify the crop pattern and schedule suitable to the ecological condition of each region and specific area. We must apply appropriate cultivation methods to quickly expand areas for industrial crops. We must appropriately invest in building materials and technical bases, improve material supply work, strengthen scientific research to produce new, high-yield rice varieties for each area, and improve technique in cultivation, processing, and preservation to increase productivity and obtain increasingly better economic results in production.

We must formulate a policy to encourage the production at specialized and crop rotation cultivation areas, promote the full use of land, and improve production of the scattering cultivation areas. For economic components that participated in the cultivation of industrial crops, we must ensure a harmonious benefit for them, especially at the production, processing, transportation, and consumption links.

Developing industrial crops of various types to vigorously shift agriculture to a comprehensive development and to quickly increase the volume of agricultural products is an essential requirement of our national economy. This is also a path contributing to rearranging production, developing branches and occupations, and providing jobs for millions of people.

Each locality, with its utmost effort and in applying uniform positive measure, must quickly expand areas for and carry out intensive cultivation to increase the productivity of industrial crops to create a new, further step in developing the production of agricultural products and goods, thereby contributing to triumphantly implementing the three major economic programs of our party and state.

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CSO: 4200/608

BRIEFS

MINISTRY REVIEWS GRAIN SHIPMENT TO NORTH--On 25 May the Transportation Department of the Ministry of Communications and Transportation and the Central Transportation Dispatch Center held a conference with various propaganda organizations to hear a report on the transportation of grain from the South to North Vietnam during the past 22 days and the prospect for this task from now until late-May. Implementing the Council of Ministers' Directive No 145 on launching a campaign to transport grain from southern provinces and cities to the North, over the past 22 days the Ministry of Communications and Transportation and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry have mobilized their resources and delivered more than 33,500 metric tons of rice to the North. It is expected that from now to the end of May about 27,000 metric tons of additional rice will be transported to the North, thus bringing the total amount to about 60,000 metric tons. This is the highest monthly figure ever achieved for South-North grain transportation. [Text] [Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 25 May 87 BK] /12858

CSO: 4200/608

LOOSE EXECUTION OF COURT JUDGMENTS EXPLAINED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 7 Apr 87 p 2

[Report by Tuan Phong on interview with Phan Cong Trinh, associate justice concurrently head of judgment execution bureau of city people's court: "Why Have Judgments Passed by Courts of Justice Not Been Strictly Executed?"]

[Text] Reporter: More and more people have complained about the nonexecution of many judgments passed by courts of justice. Will you please cite some figures and express your views on this problem in our city.

Phan Cong Trinh: Of 16,756 court judgments to be executed in 1986, 992 have not yet been executed at all, while 10,222 are being executed partially or regularly (children's allowances must be paid until they reach the age of 18). Most of the court judgments that have not been executed at all involve indemnities, reimbursements, or fines imposed on criminal cases while the remainder concern housing disputes.

Reporter: These figures are alarming. In your opinion, what is the cause of this situation?

Phan Cong Trinh: I must first mention the fact that our state has not paid due attention to the execution of court judgments. There is no regulation on the execution of court judgments (such regulations are yet to be ratified by the Council of State); nor have specific tasks been assigned to state agencies whose duty is to help implement court judgments. Tribunals and the judiciary throughout the country have not concentrated efforts to ensure proper execution of court judgments. Executive officials are too few in number. The relevant systems and policies, and punitive and coercive measures are still ineffective due to difficulties in the present situation especially.

Reporter: Those are common causes. How about our city, in particular?

Phan Cong Trinh: Tribunals in our city have not really paid sufficient attention to the execution of court judgments. We must understand that trials are only 50 percent of the task to be done. The ultimate measure to be taken to win the people's confidence is to execute court judgments--the real and final phase of any lawsuit. However, throughout 18 precincts and districts and in the city people's court, there are only 50 cadres in charge of the

execution of court judgments. On the average, each of these cadres is directly responsible for the execution of 350 to 400 court judgments each year! Because these executive cadres (formerly called court ushers) have not undergone regular training, their standard of knowledge and abilities are not uniform and still limited in many respects, which accounts for the hefty backlog of court judgments to be executed.

Reporter: A segment of public opinion believes that in addition to such a weak executive force, another reason for the loose execution of court judgments is the negative acts of certain cadres. Can you tell us the truth?

Phan Cong Trinh: The city court of justice never protects its cadres if their negative practices can be ascertained. On receipt of the people's denunciations of negative practices by some cadres responsible for the execution of court judgments, we and the Judicial Service have had to verify the facts and to invite the complainants to come to voice their denunciations. Last year, our sector suspended the activities of an executive cadre at the precinct level because he dined out with the parties concerned and, contrary to regulations, removed the seals from the material evidence without the presence of a witness. The city people's court hopes that the people will inform it of any negative practice by officials in charge of the execution of court judgments so that it may take strict measures. On the other hand, the loose execution of court judgments has also been caused by other factors outside the judiciary.

Reporter: Will you please give more specific details.

Phan Cong Trinh: First and foremost, I must say that some people and agencies are not yet fully aware of the need to comply with the law and that they have even disregarded it. Taking advantage of their functions and power and acting in the name of their own agencies, many cadres have crudely intervened in and hampered the execution of court judgments.

Moreover, as I have already said, regulations on the execution of court judgments are not really specific, and we still lack laws and decrees on this matter. To date, the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Justice have only issued directives and circulars on the execution of court judgments but have not yet promulgated any specific regulation to ensure that everyone at all levels strictly implements legally valid judgments passed by courts of justice. Article 137 of the Constitution merely says, as a general rule, that "all state agencies, social organizations, and citizens must respect the legally valid judgments and decisions of people's courts, and the persons and units concerned must strictly execute these judgments and decisions." Worse still, the judiciary has sometimes been obliged to act alone and to take coercive measures to ensure execution of court judgments.

Reporter: Though we have long set forth the "live and work in accordance with the Constitution and law" motto, why has the judiciary been obliged to act on its own in such a manner?

Phan Cong Trinh: The aforementioned documents and circulars merely say that various forces must be mobilized and localities must provide assistance, and

so on, but do not specify which force must take action and, in case these forces and localities fail to act, which legal measure must be taken to determine responsibilities. In one instance, coercive measures were taken to ensure the execution of a court judgment (as in the case of Cao Chau Van and Nguyen Thi My Hoa who wanted to take back their house at 100 bis Hung Vuong Street, 18th Subward, 11th Precinct), but the local people's committee disagreed with the court judgment, refused to mobilize forces to give assistance, and even repeatedly requested that the execution of the court judgment be deferred. Consequently, it was impossible for the judiciary to execute this court judgment. Among the local authorities, there are persons who do not cooperate with the judiciary in executing court judgments but no disciplinary or punitive measure have been taken against them. Despite their complete ignorance of the contents of court judgments, some persons have even used their own power or the name of a higher-level agency to interfere with the execution of court judgments as in the lawsuit involving Nguyen Van Phuoc and Nguyen Thi Mai in the 11th Subward, 8th Precinct. Another major cause of nonexecution of court judgments is the substantial price fluctuations, especially after mistakes have been made in the price-wage-money system. After consulting the city party committee standing committee and the Supreme Court, the city court has recently issued Official Document No 165/TA dated 6 September 1986 which contains regulations aimed at solving this situation.

At present, the city court is still pondering ways to disentangle hindrances and irrationalities which have contributed to rapid fluctuations in prices.

Reporter: Is it true that the judiciary has on many occasions resorted to coercive measures to ensure execution of court judgments?

Phan Cong Trinh: Coercive measures have been taken in hundreds of cases. These measures are routine ones to ensure execution of court judgments. Recently, the people's court in the fourth Precinct used coercive measures to ensure the execution of its verdict. Because the party concerned used violence to resist its order, the court had to try him in accordance with Article 240 of the Code of Criminal Law and to sentence him to 9 months in prison. Since 1975, this is the first time a person resisting the execution of court decision has been tried in our city and maybe even throughout our country.

Reporter: Who is responsible for this state of affairs which must not be allowed to go on any longer?

Phan Cong Trinh: Of course, the judiciary is the first sector to try to put an end to the loose execution of court judgments.

As far as corrective measures are concerned, the city court must, on its part, try by various means to improve the abilities and standard of knowledge of executive officials.

The city court has also proposed that the Ministry of Justice assign more executive cadres to meet requirements and, at the same time, promulgate regulations and systems to define clearly the power of executive cadres, in

particular, and of the judiciary, in general. To implement Article 137 of the Constitution of the duty of "the persons and units concerned to execute strictly" court judgments, it is most important that the Council of State promptly promulgate regulations on the execution of court judgments and clearly define the responsibility of persons and agencies whose duty is to execute court judgments as soon as writs of execution are issued by the courts of justice. For the present, we suggest that the administration at various echelons and all mass organizations create favorable conditions for the courts of justice to implement their judgments and, should any problem arise, cooperate and consult with the courts because the latter have the duty to give explanations about the lawsuits.

Reporter: Do you think a mere appeal for "favorable conditions," "assistance," and "cooperation" is enough to ensure compliance with the law?

Phan Cong Trinh: In our opinion, now is the time to assign and decentralize tasks and to solve the people's denunciation and complaints. Petitions concerning the judiciary must be referred to the courts of justice for solution. Competent inspection teams must regularly inspect the work done by tribunals and, if necessary, propose the disciplinary measures needed to deal with the wrongdoings of judicial cadres.

Reporter: In your opinion, what can our city do immediately to ensure strict execution of court judgments and to win the people's confidence in the trials conducted by courts of justice?

Phan Cong Trinh: Right now, our city must have a clear-cut regulation to solve complaints about the execution of court judgments and to avoid the situation in which everyone has the power to order a deferred execution. It is necessary to prevent cadres holding powerful positions from crudely interfering with the execution of court judgments.

Reporter: Thank you, comrade.

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DISCUSSION OF PROGRESS IN VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 28 Mar 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] -- Our children receive vocational training, we agree. But when they complete their training, will these skilled workers be employed?"

-- "How come the school has vocational training courses and my kid did not receive any?"

This is an excerpt of a relatively [as published] frank and true dialogue:

Reporter: Do all general education schools have vocational training?

Comrade CHU XUAN THANH (Chief of the general education bureau, Education Service): All general education middle schools are fully utilized with two sessions. Material means and facilities are inadequate for academic classes, let alone vocational training!

Reporter: Does this mean that vocational training exists only...on paper?

Comrade CHU XUAN THANH: How can you say that? We have opened two polytechnical education centers, Le Thi Hong gam and Tnu Duc. These two centers are giving vocational training to about 7,000 third-level students.

Reporter: 7,000 out of a total of 60,000 third level students. That's a modest figure!

Comrade CHU XUAN THANH: That's because the means reserved to the schools are also as modest!!!

A Dream Frames"

The Thu Duc polytechnical education center was newly established, therefore there are no graduated "(skilled) worker". Meanwhile, at the Le Thi Hong Gem Center, twelve trades are taught: tailoring, embroidering, knitting handicraft, nutrition, electricity, electronics, refrigeration, welding, blacksmith, combustion engine, wood-turning, planing. The center now enrolls third level students from other schools. Last year, the center organized the career graduation examinations for 12th graders with 3 years of vocational

training. Nine hundred fifteen were recognized first-class workers: meanwhile the metropolitan student population accounts for about 20,000 students graduated yearly from the general education middle schools. Thus, there is still a rather long distance between the reality and the goal of "re-orientating" the schools toward the direction of: academic training, character training, vocational training.

The centers are unable to carry the load. And vocational training methods at the third level schools are at an impasse. All 47 schools lack facilities, equipment and buildings. The Education Service's initial report for the first school period shows that much effort was expended to "re-orientate" the existing situation but in evaluating results we see that: "A small number" of schools developed popular vocational training such as tailoring, knitting and embroidering, photography, carpentry, automotive and general use electricity for "a very small number" of students.

Looking from every angle, reality tells us that: To educate workers and organize career guidance, and vocational training for students, it is important, not only to establish a firm system of theoretical opinion but to have practical measures to organize and synchronize the performance of the task--specifically, in our case, the material structure--the pedagogy--otherwise, we'll fall into the sickness of voluntarism."

But with the present difficult economic situation, how can we think of "a material structure temporarily adequate to meet the vocational training needs for that enormous number of metropolitan students--that will be even greater in the next few years! This contradiction is no longer temporary; it has become acute.

May I frankly state my conclusions: whether we like it or not fitting vocational training within the scope of school activities, is but "a dream"!

From "fraternal relationship" to "socialization" of vocational training: Realistic and scientific capabilities?

In the past few years, some metropolitan high schools initiated "fraternal relationships" with production units to strive for mutual support. For example, the Nguyen Thi Minh Khai general education middle school coordinates with the SINCO sewing machine factory so that students from the school could learn how to assemble a certain number of machine parts.

Looking at progressive countries in the world neither in fraternal socialist countries nor developed capitalist countries, do we see the "close connection" of vocational training for general education students in schools. Even in the Soviet Union, they only establish inter-school production plants which are places where one organizes vocational training and production labor for students of a group of about 10 schools. At the same time, each plant is a branch of a big factory or of a league of enterprises. In the countryside, each school is allied with a state farm or a state forest, or at least, is allied with a collective farm. For that reason, vocational training activities are assured of enough materials, equipment, teachers and even outlets for the consumption of products produced by students.

Socialization of the vocational training in this direction is a capability lying within the reach of the city (administration). The problem is that the city should have a specified and institutionalized policy for the division of work and responsibilities to different branches and localities in order to coordinate with the education branch for its achievement.

Moreover, resolution 126/CP of the Council of Ministers concerning career guidance activities in general education schools has pointed out: "The economic, cultural branches, the production installations (factories, enterprises, collective farms, cooperatives, production collectives), the cultural and medical installations, the universities and vocational middle schools at the localities have the responsibility to use their material facilities and their teaching cadres to help the general education schools in technical worker training and guidance for the students."

There is no deadlock: The Education service with all the needed dynamism and in the spirit of the 6th Resolution of the Party Congress, by performing its staff and management functions is, above all, the source for providing specific programs and plans for the metropolitan People's Committees to carry out Resolution 126/CP.

Vocational training for general education students in the past, as it figured in the thinking of educators, was concerned with the theory and technique of the new principles of education. Today, with the new thoughts of Resolution 6, especially with the concept of liberation and developing the production forces, vocational training for general education students becomes a matter of broad socio-economic significance. General education students with skills: there lies productivity, and gives life to society and to every family.

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FAVORITISM IN SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR LABOR ABROAD

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 28 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by Ky Ninh: "Love To Labor...Abroad"]

[Text] The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance of 10 socialist countries of which Vietnam is a member) advocates labor cooperation among the bloc nations. Friendly countries accept our workers as apprentices (during a period of 7 years) and as salaried workers (for a period of 5 years).

This is known to the whole world, but a number of enterprises consider it...a family affair, only the inner circle of the board of directors and of the party chapter of the company get together behind closed doors to solve their family problem. Thus, at the H. company of a particular ministry they quietly chose 5 youths to go to work in the Soviet Union in late 1986. These mandarin's sons and daughters are the children of the company director, the vice director, the party chapter secretary, the head of the office of finance and of the chief of the medical clinic. After these beloved youths had gone, the company workers woke up to see themselves...ripped off!

This year, in accordance with a central government directive the company publicly announced the selection of workers to work abroad. But at the last moment the situation is still...cloudy. Because among the 5 workers selected there is a cherished child of...the director. And this gentleman works at another enterprise, and does not work at his father's enterprise.

Workers reaction has been loud: It appears that jobs are hereditary! And why are the big shots so fond of sending their kids abroad to learn to love labor?!

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MISUSE OF 'INTERNAL AFFAIRS' LABEL DENOUNCED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 4 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Tuong Van: "On Internal Affairs"]

[Text] At present, it is common knowledge that "internal affairs" means those affairs which occur within the scope of organization, unit, or state agency. But recently the concept of "internal affairs" has been used with various meanings in many spheres of activity and for different purposes. The words "internal affairs" have been misused to such an extent that their current meaning has differed completely from their original significance. Here are some examples:

A cadre holding an important and powerful position was guilty of stealing socialist property (a crime which has also been ornately dubbed "corruption"). As a matter of course, he (or she) should have been indicated and arraigned before a court of justice in accordance with the law in force. But instead of appearing at the bar, this cadre was merely subjected to "internal prosecution" because he (or she) had close and friendly relations with someone. This concept of "internal prosecution" also has been interpreted in many ways. In some instances, "internal prosecution" means "internal disciplinary measures" which may mean issuance of a warning, demotion, or forcible retirement. In many other instances, however, "internal prosecution" means that the offense is "passed over in silence" or dealt with halfway and that nobody should be so stupid as to mention it again. Thus, following the same incidents and for the same offenses, a culprit may be tried in accordance with the law while another may be tried according to...internal regulations. This is the first deviation in the meaning of "internal affairs."

Once there was a category of precision and rare goods much sought after in the market. According to common sense, this merchandise should have been sold at a price equivalent to its true value in order to bring income to the public budget and to contribute to national construction. However, the goods were sold at an "internal price"--one which could be applied in numerous ways. This "internal price" might amount to 80 percent or as little as 8 percent of the true value of the merchandise. In other words, the merchandise was given out courteously as a free item but the necessary invoices were made out to settle accounts with the finance bureau. We must not believe that the goods distributed at such "internal prices" were merely a few meters of fabric or some packets of monosodium glutamate. On the contrary, there was a large variety

of such goods. It can be said that though the difference between the "internal" and market prices was only a few hundred dong, it was possible for each recipient of goods at internal prices to make a profit of 100,000 dong! In accordance with the generally accepted idea that "it is the usual practice among tailors to steal part of the fabrics entrusted by customers, and among painters to use an unreasonably large quantity of gluey paint," workers in the textile factory have been allowed to buy high-quality fabrics at an "internal price," workers at the beer brewery have been given coupons to buy beer at an "internal price," and workers in the bicycle enterprise have been authorized to buy bicycles at an "internal price" while workers in department stores have benefited from "internal prices" of general merchandise. And how about the cadres, workers, and civil servants of "Ech"--the export-import agencies and enterprises ["ech" means "frog" and is Vietnamese phonetics for the English prefix "ex"]? Of course, there is "frog meat," and whether it comes from "medium-sized frogs" or "large-sized frogs" depends on the position of the frog catcher. Generally speaking, however, all categories of "frog meat" are rich in "protein." At this point, the transmutation of the words "internal affairs" has been so diversified that they are almost beyond the outsiders' comprehension. A few days ago, while sitting at the Thong Nhat stadium, I talked with a colleague of mine about the soccer players' income. This friend told me that to increase the soccer players' income, the customs sector often issued them a few coupons entitling them to receive goods at the entry-exit stations! Is that true? The answer lies with the competent authorities.

Some misdemeanors and infractions of law have been committed at a certain agency or enterprise. As a matter of course, the leading cadres should have encouraged people to wage a struggle and to criticize in order to distinguish between right and wrong and between black and white. But instead of doing so and bringing these incidents into broad daylight, many leaders concealed them by hoisting the "internal unity" banner. With their originally noble meaning, the words "internal unity" were a positive factor contributing to our common victories in past struggles. Because they have recently been misused by certain persons, these words have become a tool to conceal the truth, to lie to the higher authorities, and to deceive the lower echelons. The opportunists have found it easy to accuse honest critics of "creating internal disunity." To maintain "internal unity," they have readily set up their own clans and persecuted persons refusing to side with them. Instead of seeing the truth and correcting all shortcomings in their own enterprises and agencies, many leaders have invoked "internal unity" as a talisman to render the constructive internal struggle ineffective.

Instead of being publicized to keep everyone informed and to enable them to discuss, to implement tasks, and to control task performance, a problem which directly affects many people--including the local people and the cadres, workers, and civil servants in the agency concerned--has become the personal affair of a clique who alleges that it is necessary to "keep internal affairs secret." "Secrecy of internal affairs" is, of course, a concept which must be consistently applied to many spheres of activity. However, the misuse of the principle of "secrecy of internal affairs" with the intention of covering up certain affairs which should have been made public has given rise to negative practices. In many cases, "secrecy of internal affairs" has become synonymous with "concealment of the truth."

In essence, the concept of "internal affairs" is a straightforward, unambiguous one which has been ingrained in our cadres and party members throughout our protracted and hard struggle. However, because of the metamorphoses mentioned above by the author of this article, "internal affairs" have become synonymous with isolation and discrimination. In view of the noble goals of the revolution, we must not allow lofty words to be misused for shady purposes. During the present innovative process, let us display vigilance and deal severely with such misdeeds. In the past, the above-mentioned cases fell under the category of "internal affairs"; today, they must be made known to the public and open to public discussion.

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BIOGRAPHIC

VIETNAM

BRIEFS

VNA VICE DIRECTOR GENERAL REPORTED DEAD--Hanoi, 1 June (KYODO)--Tran Thanh Xuan, vice director general of the Vietnam News Agency (VNA), died in a Ho Chi Minh City hospital last Friday [29 May], it was learned Monday. He was 67. Xuan was VNA's No 2 official in charge of southern parts of the country. He was the chief representative for the news agency operated by the National Liberation Front during the Vietnam War. It was merged with VNA following the communist victory in the war in 1975. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 0530 GMT 1 Jun 87 OW] /12858

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